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SOCIAL SERVICE MONOGRAPHS

CITY PLANNING FOR GIRLS

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

THE BAKER & TAYLOR COMPANY
NEW YORK

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY OF CANADA, LIMITED
TORONTO

THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON

THE MARUZEN-KABUSHIKI-KAISHA
TOKYO, OSAKA, KYOTO, FUKUOKA, SENDAI

THE COMMERCIAL PRESS, LIMITED
SHANGHAI

Social Service Monographs, Number Five

CITY PLANNING FOR GIRLS

A STUDY OF THE SOCIAL MACHINERY FOR CASE WORK WITH GIRLS IN PHILADELPHIA, WITH COMMENTS ON PRESENT METHODS, BRIEF HISTORIES OF PAST EXPERIMENTS, AND RECOMMENDED PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

By

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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Published August 1928

Composed and Printed By
The University of Chicago Press
Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.

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"And the pity of it is that a broken thing mended is never what a whole thing might have been."

—Madeline McDowell Breckinridge

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

The phrase "why girls go wrong," because of the universal interest aroused by the inherent pathos in the peril surrounding girl life in the modern community, has been used so often and so flamboyantly by movie and melodrama producers that it has become a jesting, if not a slang, expression. The adolescent girl, with her troubles and temptations, her desires and conflicts, makes a strong appeal to persons of good will in every community.

The concrete expression of a sympathetic desire to protect, supervise, guide and in general to act in *loco parentis* to the girl is found in the great number of social agencies through the country engaged solely in "work with girls." Most of these agencies have come into being as the result in each case of the action of a small group of earnest citizens who, growing conscious of the fact that girls in their community were "going wrong," wanted to do something about it. Seldom, however, have the societies been organized as the result of a comprehensive plan for calling a halt or with an equipment that would meet most effectively the specific needs of the girls in the particular community. Because so little was known of how these agencies were serving the purpose for which they had come into being, and in order to obtain accurate information regarding the situation in Philadelphia, an inventory and appraisal of the work of the agencies in the "girls'-case-work field" was undertaken for that city. The following questions were asked, and an attempt was made to answer them: (1) "What understanding of the reasons 'Why girls go wrong' have the staff members of these agencies?" (2) "What do they know about the methods of helping girls who have already got into trouble and of keeping other girls out of trouble?"

It was thought that the answers to these two questions would be a starting-point from which might develop an evaluation of the

actual, as well as the potential, value of the work done by the agencies working with girls in Philadelphia.

INITIATION OF THE STUDY

Plans for the study were developed by representatives of the leading organizations of the city.

In November, 1922, when the Big Sister Association, a non-sectarian society on whose board were representatives of all the principal local girls' agencies, was organized, the hope was expressed that it would be able to bring about a closer alignment among its member agencies. But the board of the new organization soon came to the conclusion that, before new relationships could be developed, further facts were necessary with regard to the work being done for girls in Philadelphia.

This conclusion was also reached by the board of the Girls' Aid. On January 15, 1923, the officers of the Girls' Aid, for example, wrote to the Big Sister Association that a vote had been taken at a recent meeting of their organization to the effect that Philadelphia's first need in girls' work was a comprehensive study, of the existing agencies dealing with girls, leading to a report which would point out where such work should be extended and developed and where curtailed. Hope was expressed that the Big Sister Association would make this study.

Two months later[1] the Executive Committee of the Children's Section of the Council of Social Agencies of the Welfare Federation of Philadelphia passed a resolution: "That the Big Sister Association be requested to make a survey of work with the individual girl in Philadelphia."

The following week[2] the board of the Big Sister Association gave its approval to this proposal and called a meeting at which plans for the undertaking might be discussed. At this meeting the leading agencies interested in work with girls were represented.[3]

[1] March 16, 1923.

[2] March 22, 1923.

[3] The executives of the Church Mission of Help; the Personal Service Bureau; the White Williams Foundation; the Children's Bureau of Philadelphia; the Superintendent of Sleighton Farms; representatives from the Family Society; the Phila-

Formal action was taken[4] in the form of a resolution to the effect that the Big Sister Association with the co-operation of the group present should, over an extended period, examine social work with the individual girl in such a way as, "first, to give a picture of the job being done in Philadelphia; second, to gather facts to be used as a basis of future plans."[5]

STUDIES OF GIRLS' WORK IN OTHER CITIES

The importance of collecting data regarding other studies made in this field was of course recognized. Letters were therefore written to leaders in girls' work throughout the country, asking their counsel and co-operation. The expressions of cordial interest received in reply were so illuminating that a number are shared with the reader. There was, however, no evidence of a comprehensive study having been made in any city.

For example, Miss Maude E. Miner[6] wrote,

> I doubt if a survey of exactly the same kind you are planning has been made in another city. A representative of the Bureau of Social Hygiene under Dr. Davis' direction made a brief inquiry a few years ago into the functions of the different organizations dealing with girls here in New York City. I am sure that no intensive study of the case work was undertaken, but rather a brief survey to show what was the particular function of each.

Dr. Katherine B. Davis replied to an inquiry regarding this,

> I presume the study to which Miss Miner refers was one made in 1919. The purpose was not to prepare a report on the activities of these organizations. It was a tentative thing to determine for the purpose of my Bureau how far there was duplication of effort in these organizations. No report was published.

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delphia Federation of Churches; and the Juvenile Court; the president, three members of the Board of Directors, and the executive secretary of the Big Sister Association.

[4] The motion was made by J. Prentice Murphy, of the Children's Bureau, and seconded by Miss Anna B. Pratt, of the White-Williams Foundation.

[5] On April 5, 1923, Miss Lena Blanc, the secretary of the Bureau of Jewish Charities, wrote: "The Bureau voted to endorse your study and to offer our services in any way that you feel we can be helpful to you. Personally I am very much interested in the study."

[6] At that time, secretary of the New York Probation Association, now Mrs. Alexander M. Hadden, Geneva, Switzerland.

Similar replies came from other parts of the country. The Girls' Work Committee of the Chicago Council of Social Agencies reported, for example, that it was

making a general study of work with individual girls in Chicago. This survey covers such information as number of workers, types of cases handled, and volume of work. There seems to be no intention of evaluating the work of the agency or of studying individual case histories.[7]

"Cleveland certainly is a land of surveys, but we have not been fortunate enough to have had a survey of girls' work undertaken," wrote Miss Sabina Marshall, executive secretary of the Women's Protective Association, Cleveland, Ohio.

"I am very much interested in the fact that you are undertaking a study of girls' agencies in Philadelphia. We too have a large number of agencies doing work with girls, with little or no correlation, and with a great deal of energy and no particular aim," Dr. Miriam Van Waters, referee of the Juvenile Court, Los Angeles, California, replied.[8]

The need for better co-ordination of the work of the girls' agencies is recognized in the *Study of Interrelations of National Agencies in Local Communities:*[9]

They have too little perspective on overlapping of programs of various agencies. Have given little thought to uncovered fields. . . . .

The absence of well-defined standards is due in part to the absorption of social workers in administrative tasks which have left too little time for the study of their experience. Standards do not evolve themselves, they are the product of study and reflection.

An interesting survey[10] of methods of caring for juvenile delinquents, made in Rochester, New York, through a detailed ex-

[7] Miss Jessie F. Binford, director of the Juvenile Protective Association, Chicago, Illinois.

[8] Kind expressions of interest were also received from Miss Mary E. Driscoll, of the National Civic Federation, Boston, Massachusetts; from Mrs. Robbins Gilman, of the Women's Co-operative Alliance, Minneapolis, Minnesota; and from Miss Rhoda Kaufman, of the State Department of Welfare, Atlanta, Georgia.

[9] Published by the National Information Bureau, New York City. See especially chap. vi.

[10] *Condensed Report of a Survey of Juvenile Delinquency in Rochester, New York,* made under the direction of Henry W. Thurston. Published by the Child Wel-

amination of a group of actual cases, also showed the need for better correlation between the agencies.

In fact, all data collected gave evidence of the importance of gathering further information as to the purposes and procedures of the agencies in the girls'-work field as a basis for future plans and developments.

OBJECTIVES AND METHOD

In carrying on this study, there has been no intention of supporting a thesis or of attempting to make a statistical analysis of the characteristics of the girls known to the agencies. Stated briefly, the objectives of the study were, first, to learn what the girls' agencies in Philadelphia are now doing, and, second, so to organize those facts that they might serve as a basis for future work.

With these objects in view, the records of the co-operating agencies were carefully studied and the methods and procedure evaluated according to recognized standards of social work. The case histories of the various agencies contain information which should serve as a basis in formulating better standards. Group meetings and individual conferences were held to secure opinions and suggestions from the executives and staff members of the agencies whose records were read. And one factor of special value is that of time, since, instead of making a hurried survey, it has been possible to observe developments over an extended period of time.[11]

The agencies which have co-operated in the study may be classified as follows: (1) special agencies for girls, of which there are four: the Girls' Aid, the Church Mission of Help, the Big Sister Association, and the Personal Service Bureau; (2) children's agencies, of which there are eight: the White-Williams Foundation, the Catholic Children's Bureau, the Children's Aid Society,

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fare League of America. It was the conclusion of those in charge of this study that the most effective way of obtaining information as to the actual work of an agency was through an examination of the case records.

[11] From 1923 to 1928 the writer, as executive secretary of the Big Sister Association, was in direct contact with the day-by-day work of the agencies in the girls' field.

the Children's Bureau, the Juvenile Aid Society, the Society to Protect Children from Cruelty, the Philadelphia Child Welfare, and the Lutheran Children's Bureau; (3) agencies for work with the colored, of which there are two: the Philadelphia Association for the Protection of Colored Women, and the Women's Christian Alliance; (4) family welfare societies, of which five co-operated: the Family Society, the Jewish Welfare Society, the Home Missionary Society, the Union Benevolent Society, and the American Red Cross, Home Service Section; and (5) miscellaneous (other service agencies), including: the Traveler's Aid Society, the Emergency Aid of Pennsylvania, the Social Service Department and the International Institute of the Young Women's Christian Association, the Philadelphia Federation of Churches, the Girls' Fellowship League of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Associated Committee on Policewomen. Representatives of these agencies have been interviewed; and wherever social case histories were kept, their records have been read. Leading representatives of the settlements and other recreational and cultural groups, mental hygiene clinics, hospital social service departments, and maternity homes were consulted; and their advice was sought by personal interview.

Other groups consulted in the preparation of the report include the Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania, the Pennsylvania Committee on Penal Affairs, the Pennsylvania Prison Association, the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, the Council of Social Agencies of the Welfare Federation, the Bureau for Jewish Children of the Federation of Jewish Charities, the Alliance of Catholic Women, the Armstrong Association, teachers, club women, other interested citizens, and representatives of the following public agencies: the State Department of Public Welfare, Bureau of Children and Mother's Assistance Fund; the State Department of Labor and Industry, Bureau of Women and Children; the Philadelphia Department of Public Welfare, Bureau of Personal Assistance; the Philadelphia Department of Education, Bureau of Compulsory Education; the Children's Commission of Pennsyl-

vania; the Glen Mills School for Girls; the Philadelphia Municipal Court; and the district attorney's office.

There has come to be in many quarters a certain cynicism with regard to social surveys. It is constantly charged that all too often they are like stones cast into a lake, causing a few ripples which soon disappear and are forgotten, the level of the lake remaining the same. Likewise, abstract discussions frequently seem somewhat futile; for principles may be recognized and the value of certain procedures may be generally agreed upon, without finding their way into the social work actually done. Every effort was made, however, to carry on this study in such a way that conclusions would be based on common agreement and so that recommendations would be practical and immediately applicable.

CHAPTER II

AN EXAMINATION OF THE SOCIAL MACHINERY

In planning a social program it is important to have information regarding the whole background against which smaller groups and specific activities may be viewed. It is well, therefore, before proceeding to details, to ask a few questions about the general situations in Philadelphia. The sources of information for these general data are the United States Census and the School Census of the city. How many girls are there in Philadelphia, and what proportion to the whole population are they? The population of Philadelphia, according to the United States Census report of 1920, was 1,823,779. Of these, 916,146 were females, of whom 338,580 were under the age of twenty-one.

NUMBER OF GIRLS IN SCHOOL AND INDUSTRY

The School Census for the year ending June 30, 1925, showed that there were then 337,028 children between the ages of six and sixteen in Philadelphia.[1] Of these, 32,669 were fourteen and fifteen years old. There were 3,659 girls at work and attending continuation school one day a week.

The United States Census shows that in 1920 Pennsylvania ranked second in the United States in the number of working women. Nearly 700,000, or one-fifth of the total female population of the state over ten years of age, were gainfully employed. Nearly one-third of the working women are found in Philadelphia. These women are young: almost one-half are under twenty-five years of age, and a little more than 3 per cent of the employed female population is under sixteen. There are more women working between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four than in any other group.[2]

[1] *Report of the Philadelphia Bureau of Compulsory Education for the Year Ending June 30, 1925.*

[2] For analysis and comment on these figures, see *Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industries, Publication No. 11.*

SOCIAL RESOURCES AVAILABLE FOR WORK WITH GIRLS

Of the 338,580 girls under the age of twenty-one in Philadelphia in 1920, only a comparatively small number will ever come to the attention of a girls' agency. Most of then have been in school and have been, or will be, in industry. The majority of them have probably made some use of the community's recreational facilities, such as available parks, recreation centers, libraries, art galleries, and museums and have had contact with the church. They are all affected by corrupt political conditions. The home surroundings of many of them are determined, to a considerable degree, by wages and hours of work, general housing conditions, and by the transportation facilities. The groups in the community characterized by illiteracy, premature work for children, illegal absence from school, and other grossly adverse conditions, are growing smaller, so that numerically they are not outstanding. However, looked at from another angle, they are vastly significant, for, as general community standards rise, their disabilities become more and more intolerable to them and the sense of injustice and failure in life is sharpened. As has been often said, there must be progressively higher ideals in home, school, and industry if every girl in Philadelphia is to be given an opportunity for her full development. While social workers whose tasks bring them in contact with girls should never lose sight of these ultimate goals, in the meantime they should make use of immediate opportunities to improve the social machinery for helping girls acutely in need.

If, through the schools, there were the application of the best principles of social case work for all girls of school age who might need it, and if there were developed community measures for the protection of girls, the number for whom a private case-working agency should care would be small. When this is realized, it becomes increasingly obvious that if the work done with these girls is superficial and careless, the effect is next to negligible, if not positively detrimental to some individuals and to the community as a whole. On the other hand, thorough work and careful analysis of the conditions which have surrounded and the influences which have affected the lives of even these few girls, furnish a basis of

study from which can be learned both how best to help girls individually and how most effectively to develop those elements of community life which will bring out the highest possibilities of every girl.

I. AGENCIES PROVIDING CASE WORK FOR GIRLS

As girls are a part of the whole community and share more or less directly in all its assets and its liabilities, it is a fairly arbitrary task to select in any specific way those social agencies in the community which are to be designated as "girls' agencies." Only those agencies which have as their primary purpose personal service or individual case work with adolescent girls are included in this section and are referred to throughout as "girls' agencies." Following this section, the equipment for work with children, with family groups, and for service to persons in special situations, such as travelers, etc., is reviewed.

Certain institutional organizations, such as settlements, homes for girls, orphanages, etc., have attached to their staff visitors to do personal work with the girls who come to them. These have not been included under "case-work agencies" because their main object seems to be to offer an opportunity for recreation, to serve as a community center, to provide housing or home care or education, or to fill some other concrete need not focused specially on individual work with girls. A statement regarding the functions of such agencies is found, however, below.[3]

HISTORY, PRESENT PERSONNEL, AND EQUIPMENT OF SPECIAL GIRLS' AGENCIES STUDIED

With reference to each of the girls' agencies studied, it was considered desirable to include a short history of its development, and information regarding the district in which it works; the conditions under which help is given by it, and such limitations as it places on itself regarding girls to be accepted, age, color, religion, mental or physical condition, or possible delinquency.

The following information was secured from each of the agencies through correspondence. The figures with reference to the budget and intake are for the year 1924, which was the last full

[3] See below, p. 139.

year of work before the Girls' Aid Reorganization, described below,[4] was begun.

THE GIRLS' AID (W. F.[5])

History and service offered.—Organized in 1912 to work with girls who came into court, and was known as the "Court Aid." In addition to providing personal service, it maintained a home known as "Cuthbert House." In 1916, after the Municipal Court with a staff of probation officers took over this work, the Court Aid changed its name to "Girls' Aid" and took for its object that of concentrating on preventive work with girls who were not technically delinquent. On January 2, 1924, the agency became a more highly specialized casework agency to meet the need for intensive case treatment, combined with the psychological examination and study of maladjusted girls. It was associated with the Department of Child Study of the Children's Aid Society and shared its offices and its director with that department. It offered to individuals, parents, teachers, and social agencies an advisory service of educational, recreational and mental hygiene, advice for older girls, and also accepted a limited number for direct social case treatment.[4]

Eligibility.—Prefers girls between sixteen and twenty-five years of age, but age limits are not rigidly adhered to. No limits are set with regard to color or creed. No mental defectives are cared for, or cases of personality so inferior as to make case treatment futile; and no unmarried mothers involving the problem of child-placing are accepted.

District covered.—Philadelphia.

Staff.—Full-time paid workers: case worker, stenographer; half-time paid workers: executive, psychologist.

Budget, 1924.—$8,515.49.

Number of cases.—December 31, 1924, there were 18 girls under care. New cases received during that year, 33.

THE CHURCH MISSION OF HELP (W. F.)

History and service offered.—Organized by the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1915 to give "moral support" to the unprotected Protestant girl in the community. It serves as a "follow-up" agency for all Protestant girls referred to it by churches, institutions, courts, individual and social agencies.

Eligibility.—There are no limitations regarding age, color, or previous history. Protestants preferred.

District covered.—The diocese of Philadelphia.

[4] See below, p. 14.

[5] When the agency is a member of the Welfare Federation, or of the Federation of Jewish Charities, the letters "W. F." or "J. C." will indicate this relationship.

Staff.—Full-time paid workers: secretary, assistant secretary, stenographer. A volunteer who gives regularly a half-day a week.

Budget, 1924.—$7,775.33.

Number of cases.—December 31, 1924, there were 83 girls under care. New cases received during the year, 87.

THE PERSONAL SERVICE BUREAU. BRANCH OF THE PHILADELPHIA SECTION OF THE COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN (J. C.)[6]

History and service offered.—An organization to protect and guide Jewish girls who are delinquent or in need of friendly interest; organized in 1913 to act as a Jewish parole agency for Sleighton Farm.[7] Soon after organization it expanded its work.

Eligibility.—Now receives Jewish girls over fourteen years of age. No limitations regarding previous history.

District covered.—Philadelphia.

Staff.—Full-time paid workers: executive secretary, two full-time case workers. A part-time case worker, stenographer. Seventeen volunteers during year.

Budget, 1924.—$8,940.00.

Number of cases.—December 31, 1924, there were 252 under care. New cases received during the year, 102.

THE BIG SISTER ASSOCIATION OF PHILADELPHIA (W. F.)

History and service offered.—Organized in 1922 for the assistance, protection, and encouragement of girls who might be in need of the friendship and guidance of persons willing to assume the helpful relationship of an older sister, and for such other purposes as might assist underprivileged girls. The Society recruits and supervises volunteers who do personal work with individual girls.

Eligibility.—Receives girls from other social agencies, from the courts, from hospitals, and from miscellaneous sources, i.e., girls between twelve and twenty-one years of age, but age limits are not rigidly adhered to. There are no restrictions because of race, creed, or previous history.

District covered.—Philadelphia.

Staff.—Full-time paid workers: 1 executive, 1 assistant executive, 1 office secretary, 160 part-time volunteer workers.

Budget, 1924.—$9,408.31.

Number of cases.—December 31, 1924, there were 195 girls under care. New cases received during the year, 119.

[6] See footnote 8 on p. 13.

[7] The State School for Delinquent Girls.

EFFORTS AT CENTRALIZATION OF CASE WORK FOR GIRLS

There are a few general comments upon these agencies which will somewhat clarify the discussion. Philadelphia has never had a strong central girls' agency except for a short time in 1912, after the Court Aid Society was organized. When the Misdemeanants' Division of the Municipal Court was created in 1915, it was hoped that its probation department would be able to provide social-case-work care for delinquent girls over sixteen. The Court Aid changed its name to "Girls' Aid" and adopted a policy of caring for girls who were not delinquent. About this time (1915) the Church Mission of Help was started for the "moral support of Protestant girls." There were occasional revisions of policy by the Girls' Aid in an effort better to meet the community's needs, but an effective correlation between its work and the work of the Church Mission of Help was never achieved.

In 1913 the Personal Service Bureau was organized to work with Jewish girls paroled from the State School for Delinquent Girls, and its work was soon extended to include any girl over fourteen years of age needing help.[8]

Follow-up work is done with certain girls discharged from the House of Good Shepherd; and the Catholic Children's Bureau, which was organized in 1914, does some work with girls over sixteen. No special girls' agency for case work with delinquent girls has been maintained by the Catholic church.

When the World War broke out, there was no one agency equipped to deal with the girl problem in Philadelphia. As an emergency measure, under the general direction of the United States War Department Commission on Training Camp Activities, a Philadelphia Committee on Protective Work with Girls was organized. It was composed of representative women, including Catholics, Jews, and Protestants. The director of the White-Williams Foundation supervised the work of the professional staff. It was hoped that, following the war, a central girls' agency would be the outgrowth of this committee. However, there did not then exist the machinery of a council of social agencies to develop group

[8] In 1927 the Bureau became a department of the Jewish Welfare Society.

discussion and planning, or a welfare federation to consider the most advantageous use of the community's charitable funds; and this hope was not realized.

In 1922 the Big Sister Association, a non-sectarian agency, was organized to recruit and supervise volunteer workers. Since that time this study of the work of the girls' agencies has been going on, and conferences of all interested groups[9] have been held, in which there have been free discussion and frank expression of opinion. The results of these conferences were crystallized at a meeting of the Girls' Study Advisory Group on January 16, 1926, when a resolution[10] was adopted to the effect that there was need for a strong centralized agency for work with girls and that steps should be taken to bring about the establishment of such an agency.

The Board of Directors of the Girls' Aid decided that, with its small staff and high degree of specialization, it was not reaching enough girls to make much impression on the whole problem in Philadelphia, and suspended operation pending the working out of plans for a central agency. The directors of the Big Sister Association were convinced that volunteer workers, while indispensable for a girls' service of any size, need to be attached closely to a staff of professional workers; and they were eager to join in the scheme for a central agency. However, those responsible for the Church Mission of Help were unwilling to consider centralization. The

[9] The Girls' Study Advisory Group included representatives from the Girls' Aid Society, the Church Mission of Help, the Big Sister Association, the Personal Service Bureau, the White-Williams Foundation, the Cathedral School, the Children's Aid Society, the Children's Bureau, the Juvenile Aid Society, the Pennsylvania Society to Protect Children from Cruelty, the Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic, the Family Society, the Traveler's Aid Society, the Philadelphia Association for the Protection of Colored Women, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Philadelphia Federation of Churches, the Sheltering Arms of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Juvenile Court, the State Training School for Girls, and the Council of Social Agencies.

[10] The text of the resolution was as follows: *"Resolved;* That in the opinion of the Girls' Study Advisory Committee there is need in Philadelphia for a strong centralized agency for work with individual girls, and it is recommended therefore that efforts be made to bring about a consolidation of the three following agencies: the Big Sister Association, the Church Mission of Help, and the Girls' Aid; such consolidation to be effected, if possible, before the Sesqui-Centennial Exposition with its attendant increase in problems in the field of girls' work."

president of the Board[11] pointed out, as a reason for taking this stand, that the Church Mission of Help had its origin in the belief that the church should deal with all such social problems and "should not delegate its work to social agencies." Therefore, when later in 1926, the Sesqui-Centennial was held in Philadelphia, there was still no central girls' agency equipped to meet the city's needs, and it was found necessary to repeat the war-time procedure of forming a special committee to develop a central case-working service for girls. The members of the Woman's Committee of the Sesqui-Centennial Association were interested in meeting this need; and upon the recommendation of their chairman[12] the Association agreed to finance for a period of six months, to the extent of $10,000, the work of a staff called the "Girls' Service of the Sesqui-Centennial." The Girls' Service was then sponsored by a special committee, which consisted of representatives from the leading organizations especially interested in girls.[13] At the request of this committee the Big Sister Association arranged to organize and supervise the work of the Girls' Service.[14] The crowds which had been expected for the Sesqui-Centennial did not materialize, and there were financial difficulties. As a result, the Girls' Service was never completely staffed and the work was discontinued before the end of the Exposition. This made it impossible to realize

[11] Rev. Gilbert E. Pember.

[12] Mrs. J. Willis Martin, chairman of the Woman's Committee of the Sesqui-Centennial Association.

[13] The committee included representatives from the following organizations: Women's Committee of the Sesqui-Centennial, the Board of Trustees of the Welfare Federation, the Federation of Jewish Charities, the Big Sister Association, the Girls' Aid, the Personal Service Bureau, the Juvenile Aid Society, the White-Williams Foundation, the Alliance of Catholic Women, the Council of Jewish Women, the Philadelphia Federation of Churches, the Young Women's Christian Association of Philadelphia, the Y.W.C.A. of Germantown, the International Institute of the Y.W.C.A., the Philadelphia Association for the Protection of Colored Women, the Girl Scouts, the Girls' Friendly, the Young Women's Hebrew Association, the Girls' Fellowship Service of the M.E. Church, the Rebecca Gratz Club, the Council of Social Agencies, the Philadelphia Association of Settlements, the Philadelphia Association of Hospital Social Service Workers and Sleighton Farm, the State Training School for Girls.

[14] The chart on p. 16 shows the organization plans.

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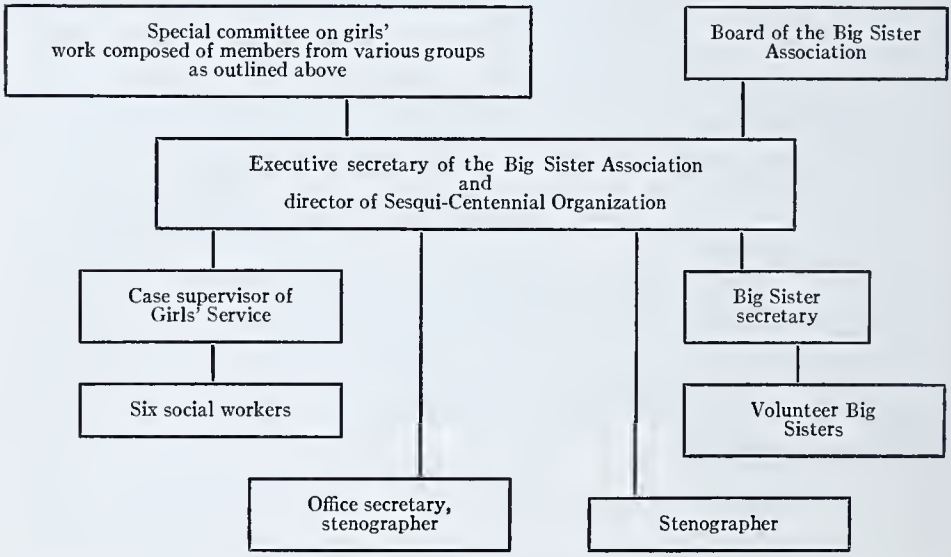
the hope of continuing a similar organization as part of the permanent social machinery of Philadelphia when the Sesqui-Centennial came to an end. However, two of the Girls' Service workers[15] have been continued on the staff of the Big Sister Association, and the boards of both the Big Sister Association and the Girls' Aid looked forward to the formation of a well-equipped effective girls' agency in Philadelphia.



II. SOME OF THE CHILDREN'S AGENCIES RENDERING PERSONAL SERVICE TO GIRLS

1. The White-Williams Foundation (W. F.) was formerly the Magdalen Home, which was established in 1800 to help delinquent girls. In 1916, for the first time, women were elected to the board, 5 out of 10 members being women. The institution was at that time closed, and a director was appointed to study the situation in Philadelphia from the point of view of provisions for the care of girls. In June, 1917, as a result of this study, the work of vocational guidance was begun with girls in the Philadelphia schools; and in February, 1920, the constitution was revised so as to allow work with boys as well as with girls, and the name was changed from the "Magdalen Home" to the "White-Williams Foundation." It is now a social-educational laboratory for the study and assist-

[15] The salary of one worker is contributed by the Howard Institution.

ance of the individual child, and it receives any child of school age. There are no limitations on its work because of the race, creed, or previous history of any possible object of its service. Its work is city wide. During the year 1924, 692 girls had been referred to the society. On December 31, 1924, there were 588 girls under the care of the organization.

2. The Catholic Children's Bureau was formed in 1924 to provide foster-home care for the dependent Catholic children of the archdiocese and has become the central clearing-house for dependent and delinquent Catholic children who are committed through the Juvenile Court. The Bureau maintains a temporary shelter; and there are special workers to supervise the girls who are placed out by the two large child-caring homes—one worker for girls under sixteen and one worker for girls over sixteen referred for care by courts or by other agencies. On January 1, 1924, the older girls' department had 244 girls under supervision.[16]

3. The Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania (W. F.) receives children up to sixteen years of age, needing foster-home care. The Society has a reception department, a child-placing department, and a child-study department. While there is no special department for older girls, supervision of its own girls is maintained until they are twenty-one. The number of girls over twelve years of age who were under care, including girls in hospitals, institutions, and temporary homes, was 412.[17]

4. The Children's Bureau of Philadelphia (W. F.) was organized in 1907 to correlate the work for children in Philadelphia and in the state, to set good standards of child-caring work, and to engage in research and in the promotion of needed legislation.

In 1920 it became a child-placing agency, limiting reception and investigation to its own intake and a few institutions. It makes careful social inquiries, uses foster-families, provides the best medical oversight for all children, maintains a reception department and a child-placing department, and places special emphasis

[16] Study of Catholic Children's Bureau made by Miss Mollie F. Lynch, assistant secretary, the Big Sister Association.

[17] This figure was given November 5, 1925. It would be approximately the same for December 31, 1924, although the exact number for that date was not available.

on nursing supervision of babies placed in foster-homes. At present, the intake is limited largely to children under six years of age, to temporary cases, and to convalescent and unmarried mothers and children. On December 31, 1924, approximately 46 unmarried mothers were under its care.

5. The Juvenile Aid Society (J. C.) receives for placement in boarding-homes, and supervises in such homes, children up to the age of sixteen who are dependent and neglected or offer conduct problems. They can remain under its supervision up to the age of twenty-one. There are no special girls' workers, as their regular workers handle cases of both boys and girls. December 31, 1924, 198 girls, of whom many were over twelve years of age, were under care.[18]

6. The Pennsylvania Society to Protect Children from Cruelty (W. F.) is an agency which investigates complaints of cruelty to or wilful neglect of children, institutes court action when necessary, and has a temporary shelter for children. Its visitors also supervise families where conditions can be remedied without prosecution. Girls requiring intensive care are referred to a special girls' agency. During 1924, complaints were received by the Society in 2,778 cases involving 9,738 children.[19]

7. The Philadelphia Child Welfare Association, organized in 1907 to help children in their own homes, is mainly interested in truant boys and girls. It confines its work to children under sixteen but has no restrictions because of race, creed, or previous history of the child. Statistics with regard to numbers are not kept, but about 25 girls were on its active list in 1924.

8. The Lutheran Children's Bureau of the Board of Inner Missions provides both temporal and permanent care for dependent Lutheran children. During 1924, 11 girls over twelve years of age were under its care.

9. The Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic was organized in 1925 by the National Committee for Mental Hygiene of the Com-

[18] On July 30, 1925, there were 80 girls over twelve under care. This figure is the usual average number under care.

[19] The number of girls which this figure included was not obtainable.

monwealth Fund and is being continued through local support. Its object is the promotion of mental health in childhood through the education of the community in the best methods of child guidance. There are social case workers on its staff. Two hundred and five girls, 50 of them under the age of ten, were referred to the Child Guidance Clinic up to April 1, 1927.

10. The Women's Christian Alliance is an organization which does placement work with colored children, and is used to a large extent by the court.[20]

III. SERVICES FOR GIRLS OF FAMILY-WELFARE SOCIETIES

1. The Family Society of Philadelphia (W. F.) is an organization engaged in social work with families. It has no special department of girls' work, and problem girls in families under the care of the organization are handled by the regular family visitors, although girls' agencies are frequently called on for help in especially difficult cases. The Society cared for 4,434 families during 1924.[21]

2. The Jewish Welfare Society (J. C.) is engaged in social work with Jewish families. Its procedure in girls' cases is similar to that of the Family Society. There were under its care 1,950 families during the fiscal year ending July 30, 1925.

3. The Home Missionary Society of the City of Philadelphia has for its purpose the relief of the poor in their homes. It has a children's department with a special worker for older girls.[22]

4. The Union Benevolent Association (W. F.) is an organization for the relief of suffering among the poor, which cared for 521 families during the fiscal year ending May 31, 1925. Problem girls in its families are handled by the regular visitors.

5. The American Red Cross, Home Service Section, South Eastern Pennsylvania Chapter. This is an organization which assumes responsibility for the care of ex-service men and their

[20] Information regarding the type of work done was not available.

[21] It would be interesting if the representatives of these organizations would discuss in their annual reports the figures showing sex, age, and other data concerning the children and young persons under care.

[22] The number of children cared for could not be obtained.

families. Few girls' problems come to its workers, as the majority of the families under its care have very young children. During 1924, 5,591 families were under the care of the Red Cross Home Service.

IV. OTHER AGENCIES DOING PERSONAL WORK IN RELATION TO GIRLS IN NEED OF SERVICE

1. The Philadelphia Association for the Protection of Colored Women (W. F.) is an association which provides wholesome environment and recreation and is interested in the training of colored women and girls. After giving training, the association places girls with families which have been investigated by its workers. The association workers, while they are working with a girl through a friendly visitor, attempt to re-establish the home life. Twenty-five girls can be accommodated in the Association home.

2. The Traveler's Aid Society (W. F.) has for its purpose the safeguarding of all travelers who, by reason of "inexperience, ignorance, or inability are in danger or in need of assistance." Its workers refer to special girls' agencies girls who need intensive case work. During 1924, 4,819 women and girls (1,095 of whom were under sixteen years of age) came to the attention of Traveler's Aid visitors.

3. The Emergency Aid of Pennsylvania (W. F.) maintains a department which does personal work with particular emphasis on the families on the Mothers' Assistance Fund waiting-list. It refers difficult-girl problems to special agencies.[23]

4. The Young Women's Christian Association of Philadelphia maintains a Social Service Department which helps women and girls who find themselves in difficulty, referring to other agencies any who need intensive case work. During 1924, its workers handled 319 special cases.

The International Institute is a special branch of the Y.W.C.A., with the object of protecting the foreign woman and girl. The workers of the Institute will assist other agencies in the case of any foreign-born girl over the age of sixteen.[24]

[23] Exact figures of girls' cases were not available.

[24] Their records do not supply exact case-work figures, but their report for 1924 shows under its various types of work: interpretations for agencies, 1,162; cases

5. Philadelphia Federation of Churches maintains a social-service secretary who acts as a liaison officer between the Protestant evangelical churches and the social agencies. She is especially concerned with the conditions affecting women and girls and attends the Juvenile Court sessions regularly, referring to special girls' agencies girls who come to her attention as needing intensive case work.

6. The Philadelphia Missionary and Church Extension Society of the Methodist Church maintains a Girls' Fellowship Service worker to establish for young women who are strangers in the city satisfactory relationships in employment, home, social and church life. She refers to special girls' agencies girls who need intensive case treatment. Her report states that over 3,000 girls were ministered to during 1924.

7. The Associated Committee of Women on Police Matrons consists of delegates from various women's organizations who visit station houses, give clothing, etc., and are said to help police matrons in their follow-up work with discharged prisoners. There are 21 matrons in the Police Bureau of the Philadelphia Department of Public Safety. During one month, January, 1924, there were 212 children and 457 women listed by the matrons as under their care.

V. THE SERVICES OF PUBLIC CASE-WORK AGENCIES

Thus far, the roster of agencies has included only those which carry on their services under private auspices. The publicly supported and managed services for families and persons include, not only those listed below, but also the probation staffs of the various branches of the Municipal Court, which will be treated at length in a following section.

1. The Mothers' Assistance Fund, under the supervision of the State Department of Welfare, aids widows in supporting their children under sixteen in their own homes. Problem girls in Mothers' Assistance families are cared for by the regular visitors. Girls' agencies are called in only on difficult cases; and these are few, as

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from foreign ports and cities, 66; women and girls in classes and clubs, 694; and newcomers found employment, 52.

the home conditions must be satisfactory in order that a grant may be given. On June 1, 1924, there were 860 families under care. During the fiscal year ending May 31, 1925, 278 new cases were received.

2. The Bureau of Personal Assistance, Philadelphia Department of Public Welfare, cares for foundlings, deserted children, children of imprisoned parents, and neglected and defective children committed to the Bureau of Charities by the courts. In 1925 there were 3,978 cases under the care of this bureau; of these, 1,713 were children.

3. The Bureau of Compulsory Education, Board of Public Education, has responsibility for the enforcement of the Compulsory Education and Child Labor laws. Through their junior employment and their attendance and social service departments, they provide a child-welfare service. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1925, there were 294,139 cases from the public, private, and parochial schools under the care of the attendance officers. There were 5,508 applications for placement made to the Junior Employment Service. The Social Service Department carried over 114 cases from July, 1924, and received 651 new cases during the following fiscal year.

CHAPTER III

THE COURTS AND CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS THAT DEAL WITH GIRLS

To the analysis of private agencies must be added a brief review of the public agencies that have to do with delinquent girls. The probation officers attached to the city courts are all in a position to carry on important case-work services for a large number of girls.[1] The following paragraphs contain information regarding the jurisdiction and organization of the various courts and, so far as could be ascertained, the number of girls in Philadelphia who came in contact with courts and correctional institutions.

Girl offenders in Philadelphia may be brought before any one of the following courts, the assignment depending upon the girl's age and her offense: (1) the Municipal Court, in (*a*) the Juvenile Division, (*b*) the Misdemeanants' Division, or (*c*) the Women's Criminal Division; (2) the Court of Quarter Sessions; and (3) the magistrates' courts.

The jurisdiction of each of these various courts is fairly clearly differentiated from that of any other. They will be briefly described in the following pages.

1*a*. *The Municipal Court, Juvenile Division.*—The Juvenile Division of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia, has jurisdiction over delinquent, dependent, and neglected children under sixteen years of age. Children are brought to the attention of the court through arrest or upon a petition filed by a resident of the county, setting forth that a child is neglected, dependent, or delinquent.

The total number of all types of cases dealt with by the Juvenile Court in 1925 was 20,042. There were 6,100 cases brought in on new charges of delinquency and disposed of; 5,220 of these

[1] The work of the Municipal Court is of great concern to any group interested in the welfare of girls in Philadelphia; but no critical examination has been made of it in this study, as there is an exhaustive study at the present time being carried on by the Harrison Foundation through a group of experts working under the direction of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research.

were boys, and 880 were girls.[2] There were 5,139 different children charged with delinquency brought before the Juvenile Court in 1925. Of these, 4,369 were boys and 770 were girls. For a community with a girl population of juvenile-court age of about 140,000, that does not seem an excessive number. These figures are approximately the same as in other years. The Municipal Court report of 1924 states:

> The greater number of boys' cases as compared with girls' cases is due in part to differences in the character of the offenses, as boys are often brought to court for offenses of a trivial character, for childish pranks or gang depredations, while girls are usually brought in for serious immorality, which necessitates immediate and vigorous action. Complainants and police officers often feel that bringing a boy into court will do him no harm and may teach him a lesson, but there is greater unwillingness on the part of parents and others to bring a girl into court and thereby acknowledge or expose her waywardness. The gang spirit among boys also causes many to suffer from connections with gangs although some of the boys may not be responsible for the serious offenses committed. On the other hand, girls are seldom members of gangs. In 1924, 46 per cent of the boys were brought in, in groups of two or more, while only 17 per cent of the girls were brought in, in groups; 28 per cent of the boys were arraigned in groups of three or more as contrasted with only 3 per cent of the girls. . . . .
>
> The most common offense among boys was stealing—28 per cent of all the boys being charged with this offense; while among the girls only 7 per cent were brought in on this charge. Nearly two-thirds (65 per cent) of the girls were charged with offenses indicating either suspected sex immorality or the danger of its development such as running away from home (21 per cent), incorrigibility (19 per cent), sex offenses (6 per cent), and witnesses in rape cases (19 per cent), while only 11 per cent of the boys were brought in for running away from home, 7 per cent for incorrigibility, and 1 per cent for sex offenses.[3]

The difference on the nature of the offenses charged against boys and against girls is similar to that found in other courts. Healy has pointed out[4] that this does not mean that a larger per-

[2] See *Twelfth Annual Report of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia* (1925), pp. 25, 27. These figures do not mean *children,* as a child is counted as many times as his case may come before the court.

[3] See the *Eleventh Annual Report of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia* (1924), pp. 15–16.

[4] *The Individual Delinquent,* p. 144.

centage of girls are sex offenders but that parents and the community have different standards with regard to the conduct of boys and of girls in this respect and treat misconduct of the two in very different ways.

Among both boys and girls under sixteen, the number of juvenile delinquents increases with the age. The 1924 Juvenile Court report states that 20.2 per cent of the delinquent boys were fifteen and 19.2 per cent were fourteen years of age, while 31.5 per cent of the girls were fifteen and 21.1 per cent were fourteen. While there is no lower age limit for juvenile-court jurisdiction, no girls under seven years of age are reported as having had court hearing in 1924. However, girls as young as four years had their cases disposed of informally by the probation department.[5]

Of the 770 girls dealt with by the Juvenile Court in 1925 on charges of delinquency and whose cases were disposed of, 132 were girls who had been known to the court as delinquents at some time previous to this year. The remaining 638 were new to the court, and 268 of these cases were disposed of informally without court hearing. There were then only 370 girls who had never been in court before who had their cases formally disposed of through the Juvenile Court in that year.

In 1925 there were 3,723 children's delinquency cases referred to the Municipal Court on new charges and disposed of formally through court hearings. Of this number, 578 were girls. In disposing of these 578 cases, the judge dismissed 55 outright. Of the 234 cases which were placed on probation, 214 were to live in their own homes, 19 in some other family, and 1 to live elsewhere.[6] In 57 cases the girls were continued on probation, although they were already on probation and had been brought in on new charges. Three girls were placed under the supervision of the visiting nurse of the court's medical department, 1 on probation with the labor bureau of the court, and 8 girls were placed under the supervision

[5] The report explains that "children under six classified as delinquents are chiefly witnesses in rape cases." It is adding insult to injury thus to designate as a delinquent a very small child.

[6] *Twelfth Annual Report of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia* (1925), p. 51.

of the Bureau of Compulsory Education, Department of Education. The judge committed 185 girls to institutions, 38 of these to public correctional institutions, 45 to private correctional institutions, 1 to an institution for the feeble-minded or epileptic, 10 to private institutions for "other classes of children," 15 to hospitals, and 3 to private individuals. Five were committed to city departments, and 68 to private agencies for placement in private homes. Six cases were discharged from the care of an institution or agency and placed on probation. Restitution was ordered in one girl's case. The remaining 28 of the 578 girls' cases were returned to an agency or institution or referred to other courts or continued indefinitely.

In 1924[7] there were 510 delinquent girls, and in 1925 there were 480 delinquent girls, on probation in the Juvenile Court. Of these, 230 were put on probation during the year 1925. In 1924 there were 122 girls' cases, and in 1925 there were 227, reported as discharged from probation because the probation had been satisfactory; while there were 53 girls in 1924, and 23 girls in 1925, whose probation was ended by commitment to correctional institutions.

An examination of the 349 cases which were reported as having shown "satisfactory probation," and a comparison of them with the cases of the 76 girls who had been on probation but were finally committed, should be valuable in determining both the probation officers' definition of satisfactory probation and the procedure which the probation officers have followed to secure results in these cases and then the extent to which the probationers have been helped by these procedures. Such a study should indicate some conclusions which might help the judge, at the time of the court hearing, to decide whether a girl should be tried on probation as it is now administered or whether that step is merely exposing her to dangerous delay.

1*b*. *The Municipal Court, Misdemeanants' Division.*—The Misdemeanants' Division of the Municipal Court has exclusive

[7] *Eleventh Annual Report of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia* (1924), pp. 64, 65, and *Twelfth Annual Report of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia* (1925), p. 80.

jurisdiction in all proceedings concerning, or trials or charges brought against, all minors between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one who shall disobey their parents' command, or be found idle in the streets; against all disorderly children, and against all persons, whether adults or minors accused of disorderly street-walking.[8] Disorderly children are defined as

children not under the age of sixteen years, deserting their homes without good and sufficient cause, or keeping company with dissolute or vicious persons, against the lawful commands of their fathers, mothers, or guardians or other persons standing in the place of a parent.

Cases coming to the Misdemeanants' Division for offenses over which it has exclusive jurisdiction are:

disorderly street walking, at any age, and incorrigibles, runaways, and disorderly children, between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one years, are disposed of summarily. All other cases, i.e., offenses over which the court has concurrent jurisdiction with the magistrate, such as sex delinquency of either men or women, or any other offenses which require a jury trial, are given a preliminary hearing, and if the judge finds that there is probable cause to hold the defendant for trial, she is bound over for a hearing by the grand jury in the same procedure observed by a magistrate. No pleas are received, but upon admission of guilt by the defendant, sentence may be pronounced by the judge. If, on cases requiring a jury trial, the grand jury returns a true bill, the defendant is tried on indictment before a petit jury in the criminal division of the Municipal Court or in the Court of Quarter Sessions as the district attorney may elect.[9]

In 1925[10] there were 1,166 women's and girls' cases brought into this court on new charges and disposed of before the end of the year. The number of individual women concerned was 1,053.[11]

The 1,166 women's cases were classified with respect to the offense charged as follows: (1) *sex offenses* (including disorderly street-walkers, inmates and frequenters of disorderly bawdy houses, disorderly children and keepers of disorderly bawdy houses), 561, comprising 48 per cent of the cases; (2) *incorrigi-*

[8] Act of June 17, 1915, P. L. 1017, *Pennsylvania Laws,* 1915.

[9] *Eleventh Annual Report of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia* (1924), p. 78.

[10] *Twelfth Annual Report of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia* (1925), pp. 101 ff.

[11] The difference between the two figures (113) represents second, third, fourth, etc., arraignments of some of the 1,053 women during this one year.

bles and runaways (including girls between sixteen and twenty-one years of age, charged with being incorrigibles or runaways or both), 295, or 25 per cent; (3) *disorderly conduct* ("including women charged with disorderly conduct [usually another term for street-walking] and women charged with being idle and disorderly and with vagrancy"), 90 cases, 8 per cent; (4) *violating probation and contempt of court,* 83 cases, 7 per cent. *All other offenses and charges* (such as larceny, drunkenness, use of drugs, material witnesses, etc.), 137 cases, or 12 per cent.

In addition to the 1,166 women's cases, there were also 245 women's cases referred to the probation department on new charges and disposed of informally without court hearing. While the largest number of these (79) were classified as incorrigible, the causes of complaint included all the offenses listed on which formal court action was taken.

The ages of the 1,053 women in the Misdemeanants' Division range from fourteen to seventy-three years. Forty-one per cent were under twenty-one years of age; 63 per cent were under twenty-five years of age; and 79 per cent were under thirty. Forty-nine women were forty-five years of age and over. This study is especially concerned with the 41 per cent, or 428 girls, under twenty-one years of age. The offenses of these girls as listed at first arraignment in 1925 were 128 cases of runaways; 86 girls classified as incorrigible; 76 as both "incorrigible and runaway"; and 95 girls brought in for definite sex offenses, such as disorderly street-walking, soliciting, inmate of disorderly house. The remaining 43 cover miscellaneous cases such as violating probation, contempt of court, and 1 case of drunkenness.

Of the 1,166 women's cases disposed of by the court, 19 per cent were discharged, 7 per cent held under bail for the Criminal Court, 34 per cent put on probation, 6 per cent committed to hospitals, 26 per cent committed to correctional or penal institutions, less than one-half of 1 per cent were fined; all other dispositions were 8 per cent.

The court's report[12] gives a comparison of the disposition of

[12] *Twelfth Annual Report of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia* (1925), p. 107.

the 1,166 women's cases and the 651 men's cases in this division of the Municipal Court. According to this, 19 per cent of the women and 56 per cent of the men were discharged outright. Less than one-half of 1 per cent of women and 13 per cent of the men were fined; 7 per cent of the women and 17 per cent of the men were held under bail for Criminal Court; 34 per cent of the women and 4 per cent of the men were placed on probation;[13] 6 per cent of the women and less than one-half of 1 per cent of the men were committed to hospitals; and 26 per cent of the women, as opposed to 3 per cent of the men, were committed to correctional or penal institutions; 8 per cent of the women and 6 per cent of the men were classified under all other dispositions. These figures seem to give weight to the charge made by women's organizations that men and women do not receive the same treatment in many of our courts for similar or identical offenses.

The 399 cases, or 34 per cent, put on probation included: regular probation, 297; probation with medical supervision, 37; probation for a definite term, 27; probation to leave town, 25; "strict" probation, 11; discharged from an institution (not correctional) and placed on probation, 1; paroled from State Industrial Home for Women, 1.

Of the 1,166 cases, 307, or 26 per cent, were committed to correctional institutions. Of these, 136 were committed to the Philadelphia House of Correction, 137 to the House of Good Shepherd, 8 to the State Industrial Home for Women, 22 to Sleighton Farm, and 4 cases were committed to St. Joseph's Protectory.

As the court report does not classify the dispositions according to age, we do not know, regarding those under twenty-one, what percentages were put on probation or committed; but, as has been said, of the 1,053 women listed as referred to the Misdemeanants' Division on new charges and disposed of formally through court hearing, 428, or 41 per cent, were under twenty-one.

1c. *The Municipal Court, Women's Criminal Division.*—The probation department of the Women's Criminal Division handles

[13] It is a coincidence that out of 962 women's cases and 380 men's cases disposed of in 1924, there were also exactly 34 per cent of the women put on probation.

two distinct types of cases: (1) women who have been convicted of crimes (such as larceny, shoplifting, assault and battery, keeping disorderly bawdy house, etc.) in the Criminal Division of the Municipal Court and who have been placed on probation after a trial by jury, or paroled from the county prison or house of correction; and (2) unmarried mothers who are requesting assistance for the support of their children.

At the beginning of 1925[14] there were 108 women of the first group under supervision, and during the year, 50 more were placed on probation or parole, making a total of 158 probationers and parolists handled. The court was not able to state how many of these women were under twenty-one. The last year for which these ages were compiled was 1922. That year there were 77 probations. Of the 67 of these in which ages were reported, 17 were under twenty-one.

Owing to a peculiarity of the Pennsylvania laws, the principal task of this court relates to women who probably should not be classed as "criminals" at all. These are unmarried mothers. As the law now stands, the procedure for securing support for an illegitimate child begins by classifying both of its parents as "criminals" and by sending them to a criminal court for the adjustment of their difficulties.

Since 1915 all fornication and bastardy cases in the Philadelphia courts have been assigned for trial to the Criminal Division of the Municipal Court. Preliminary hearings are held at special sessions, with the judge sitting as committing magistrate. The procedure in the jury trials of the Criminal Division is the customary criminal-court procedure.

Since 1915, 5,053 mothers of children born out of wedlock have made application to this court for help in securing support of their children. During the year 1925, 532 applications by women, of whom 272 were white and 260 colored, were made for the support of children born out of wedlock—an increase of 79, or 17 per cent, as compared with 1924; of the 338 cases disposed of, orders for periodic payments for the support of the child were made in 221

[14] *Twelfth Annual Report of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia* (1925), p. 163.

cases and cash settlements in 7 others. The report for 1925 does not show what number of these girls were under twenty-one. The latest report which gives the figures with regard to age is for the year 1920.[15] Of the cases disposed of that year, 63 per cent were under twenty-one years of age; and approximately one-tenth (9.5 per cent) were under sixteen years of age, the age of consent.

In 1920 approximately 32 per cent of these mothers were Negro, although Negro women constitute only 8 per cent of the female population sixteen years of age and over. In 1920 the Philadelphia Bureau of Health registered 1,104 illegitimate births—408 of colored and 606 of white mothers. The Philadelphia Department of Public Health registered during the year 1925, a total of 1,095 illegitimate births—519 white and 576 colored. Of all the 1,095 unmarried mothers, there were 68 under sixteen years of age. In 1925 in a group of 225 selected to give a cross-section of cases handled by the Criminal Division of the Municipal Court, 110 were white and 115 were colored. Sixty-one of the white and 72 of the colored were under twenty-one. Of the 110 of the white, 1 was twelve, 1 was fourteen, and 4 were fifteen, making 6 under sixteen years of age; and of the 115 colored, 1 was twelve, 1 was thirteen, 2 were fourteen, and 6 were fifteen, making a total of 10 under sixteen.

2. *The Court of Quarter Sessions.*—Criminal cases which are not assigned by the district attorney to the Municipal Court are heard in the Court of Quarter Sessions. No information is obtainable regarding the number of girls under twenty-one who came into this court, of the offenses which they committed, or of the disposition of their cases.

3. *Magistrates' courts.*—These courts, which are not courts of record, not only conduct preliminary hearings at which defendants may be held for the higher criminal courts, but they also exercise summary jurisdiction in certain classes of minor offenses, such as vagrancy, assault and battery, drunkenness, etc. In these cases the court has power to commit to the house of correction or to the county jail, or to impose fines.

Just as in the Quarter Sessions Court, there is no information

[15] *Seventh Annual Report of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia* (1920), p. 292.

which throws light on the number of girl offenders, the charges for which they were held, or the disposition made of them.

4. *Institutions for the detention and correction of girls and women.*—The house of detention used for the temporary care of Juvenile Court charges reports that it cared for 833 girls during 1924, and 703 during 1925.[16]

The house of detention for the Women's Misdemeanants' Court reported that during 1924 it had 1,213 admissions, and in 1925, 1,386. As the same girl may be brought in several times in the course of a year, the number of different girls in this institution in each year was somewhat less than these figures.

The Philadelphia House of Correction reports that it cared for 41 women and girls in 1924, and 20 in 1925.

No figures for the girl prisoners in the county jail are available, nor could it be learned how many women and girls were held in police stations during the year.

The Glen Mills School—Girls' Department (Sleighton Farm)—is a training school for delinquent girls between the ages of eleven and eighteen years, who are committed by the courts, in the eastern section of the state. Girls may be kept under the jurisdiction of the parole officers of the school up to the age of twenty-one. During 1925 there were 160 different girls admitted to the institution, 79 of whom were sent from Philadelphia. At the beginning of the year 1926, there were in Sleighton Farms, 436 girls, of whom 164 were from Philadelphia. At this time, 80 Philadelphia girls were on parole from Sleighton Farm.

The State Industrial Home for Women, Muncy, Pennsylvania, takes females, over sixteen years of age, convicted of any criminal offense and committed or transferred by a court of record for a term of over a year. It aims to provide training and instruction and remedial preventive treatment. During 1924, 10 girls under twenty-one years of age were sent there from Philadelphia. The offenses for which they were committed were larceny, 2; incorrigibility, 2; burglary, 1; immorality, 1; violation of probation, 1;

[16] These and the following figures are not secured from published reports but through correspondence.

runaway, 1. On January 4, 1926, there were 13 girls in Philadelphia on parole from the State Industrial Home.

The House of Good Shepherd is a Roman Catholic home for the reformation of white women and girls whom it receives by personal application, court commitment, and from social agencies. On January 1, 1925, there were 217 girls in this institution. During 1924, 323 were received and 329 were discharged. Of these, 81 were under sixteen years of age and 89 between sixteen and twenty-one years of age. Among these cases were 26 drug addicts, 61 inebriates, 183 cases of gonorrhea, and 50 of syphilis. On January 1, 1926, there were 211 girls remaining in the institution. Seventy-five cases have been supervised after discharge during the year by the social service worker.

The House of Good Shepherd, St. Magdalene Asylum for Colored Girls, is for the reformation of colored girls over twelve years of age. It receives by personal application, court commitment, and from social agencies. This institution has a capacity of 100. There were 82 girls there December 31, 1925. Of these, 35 were from Philadelphia, of whom 27 were under twenty-one and were sent there for treatment in the G. U. clinic.

St. Joseph's Protectory, Norristown, provides protection of incorrigible white girls between ten and eighteen years of age. It aims to take them before they have reached the serious stage of incorrigibility in order that they may be helped in the direction of "obedience, virtue, and correct living." Children are received on commitment by the Juvenile Court or on application to the Catholic Children's Bureau. At the end of 1925 there were 102 girls there.

PROBATION AND PAROLE SERVICES

The Municipal Court of Philadelphia has developed, since its organization in 1913, one of the largest probation departments in the country. The court's employment classification is so confused (those on the payrolls as tipstaves, clerks, etc., in some instances doing the work of probation officers and vice versa) that it would be impossible to verify the actual number of real probation officers. This matter will be treated in the report which is being made of the

court under the direction of the Bureau of Municipal Court and it is too complicated to take up here. The purpose of the department may be said to be: (1) to keep out of court all cases that can be handled without court action; (2) to help the judge in coming to an understanding of the offenders who are brought before him, in order that he may make the best disposition in each case; and (3) to supervise each particular probationer and, by substituting new interests and establishing new habits of thought, bring about a change in behavior without resorting to commitment to an institution.

The quarter sessions courts have a small inadequate probation department, and no probation work at all is being done in connection with the Magistrates' Court.

Those in charge of the work of the Glen Mills School for Girls and the State Industrial Home for Women are keenly alive to the responsibilities involved in the difficult task of securing the rehabilitation of delinquent women and girls. Not only should the judges handling these cases make more use of these resources, but funds should be made available to develop and extend their services. The parole work should be enlarged so that careful supervision could be maintained during the very critical time after her period of institutional care when a girl is making her adjustment in the community.

Every community spends a vast amount of money trying to prevent and detect breaking of the law. In Philadelphia there are the city police department, the county sheriff, and the federal officers, each with a large staff whose duties are to prevent crime and to apprehend the criminal. There are magistrates and minor officials who conduct preliminary hearings; grand jurors with their clerks; the district attorneys and their clerks, the Municipal Courts, the Quarter Sessions Courts, and the federal courts, with their judges and probation departments and all their vast machinery of petty jurors, process-servers, tipstaves, and court clerks to determine the commission of crime and the identity of the criminal; houses of detention, jails, reformatories, prisons, penitentiaries, parole boards, and parole officers to keep prisoners in custody and to prevent further breaking of the laws.

This elaborate system which has been built up at such trouble and expense for the protection of society will continue to fail in the accomplishment of its purpose in any community so long as the influence of politics is so potent and the personnel organization of the staff have so few qualifications for understanding the problems with which they are dealing.

That methods of handling young offenders are undergoing rapid and thorough changes throughout the country is evidenced by the chief of the Federal Children's Bureau, who says:[17]

> During the first six months of 1923, 945 juveniles under 18 years of age were admitted to prisons and reformatories and 2,445 to jails and workhouses. These figures do not include children detained in jail awaiting the hearing or disposition of their cases. Considerable progress had been made between 1910 —the year of the last census of this nature—and 1923. In the former year, 38.8 per cent of all admissions of juvenile delinquents under 18 to institutions were to jails and workhouses, whereas in 1923 the estimated percentage was 20.8. In 1910, nearly 10,000 persons under 18 years of age were admitted to jails and workhouses as compared with 2,445, in the first half of 1923.
>
> Comparison of the age distribution of the juvenile offenders admitted to institutions in 1910 and in 1923 shows that considerable progress has been made in keeping young children out of penal institutions. In 1910, 2,345 children under 16 years of age were admitted to penal institutions; in the first six months of 1923, 283. In 8 of the 12 States prohibiting jail commitment of children under the age of 16, 17 or 18 years, the figures indicate substantial compliance with the law, only 6 children under the age specified in the law in these States having been committed to jail in the first six months of 1923. In the District of Columbia, which has a similar provision extending to children under 17 years, 3 children under this age were committed to jail during this period.
>
> These figures indicate that much yet remains to be accomplished if the ideal of the juvenile court movement—that delinquent children are to be placed under redeeming and not degrading influences—is to be realized.

If Philadelphia is to do its part in this movement, there would seem to be need, first, for current information about the intake and disposition of cases of offenders in the entire court system of the city, and, second, for the more careful application of methods calculated to accomplish both immediate and permanent results.

[17] *Annual Report for Year Ending June 30, 1925*, p. 17.

CHAPTER IV

AN EXAMINATION OF CASE RECORDS

An analysis of case records of an agency working with girls should afford information which would permit a definition of (1) the type of case actually handled; (2) the methods employed; and (3) the results obtained, differing as the methods employed differed.

METHOD OF ORGANIZING THE MATERIAL FROM THE RECORDS

It was at first planned to read a considerable number of records, using a schedule which had been prepared, on which it was thought the information contained in the case histories might be summarized, since these histories are often quite voluminous. The schedule could not be used, however, because of inaccuracies in the face cards, contradictory statements in case histories, lack of uniformity in record-keeping, and a dearth of verified facts on many of the records. In so far as the records reveal information as to type of case, the methods, and the success or failure resulting, it seemed that carefully prepared brief summaries would probably give a more accurate and vivid picture than any attempt at a compilation of the entries on the records.

It was therefore finally decided that 12 records from each of the 4 girls' agencies and an equal number from each of the 4 children's agencies doing intensive case work with girls, making 96 cases from these two groups, would give a representative sample of the work of these societies.

Of the 12 records from each agency, 8 were selected by the executive of the agency as illustrating typical problems which come to that agency for solution, and 4 were selected at random by the author from the file.

Fifty-four records, chosen from their files by executives of the remaining children's, family, and other service agencies, to illustrate their work with girls, were also read. Altogether, 150 case histories were reviewed. From the group of 96 cases from the

girls' and children's agencies, the 20 summarized below were selected as a representative cross-section.

While the summaries necessarily contain many sordid details of the girls' lives, they unfortunately show very little of the aspirations, the longing for adventure, recognition, and affection, which is the common heritage of all youth. These case histories indicate that many girls who have had the most wretched experiences respond to the appeal made by workers in whose good judgment and friendship they have confidence; and they show that case work can be really effective only when the needs of the girls are understood, when plans are carefully evolved on the basis of these needs, and when the client's co-operation in working out these plans can be secured.

For purposes of analysis of treatment, the records examined were divided into four groups:

GROUP A. CASE RECORDS SHOWING THAT THE NEEDS OF THE GIRL ARE EVIDENTLY NOT UNDERSTOOD, THAT NO COMPENSATING AFFECTION IS PROVIDED, AND THAT THE GIRL'S CO-OPERATION IS NOT SECURED

Case No. 1[1]

Helen Harley, sixteen years of age, was referred by the Young Women's Christian Association, which reported that she, with another girl, had left without notice and owing board. The superintendent was afraid they had run off with two young marines. An effort to locate the girls was at first unsuccessful. When they finally returned to Philadelphia and were located by the girls' agency, it was learned that they had been in Baltimore with two men.

The record states that Helen's father, who had always drunk and had failed to support his family, died when she was five. Her mother, who had worked very hard and had taken good care of her, died when she was nine. She left school at the age of fifteen, when in the eighth grade, to take care of her grandmother, who was ill and with whom she then lived. Her grandmother died when she was sixteen and she then went to the Young Women's Christian Association to live and became an irregular worker in positions that required relatively little training. The psychological report made when Helen was eighteen years old stated:

[1] Selected by agency.

The Haggerty Intelligence Delta II. Reading ability—about average for grade 6. Arithmetic ability—between 7th and 8th grade. Her work corresponds to the average from grade 7, and her ability is average for 14 yrs, 8 months. The Porteus Mazes which do not depend on education or training give her a mental age above 14. She is a keen observer of detail and is able to put together logically what she sees. This is shown in the Healy Pictorial Completion II, in which she makes a superior score. Her memory, both auditory and visual, is excellent. She passes all the memory tests through year 18 and is able to do the code in year 16. On the whole she has good ability. She is weak in English and is particularly sensitive about her lack along this line. She is better in arithmetic but best of all in a practical situation. Her memory is so unusually good that it might well determine the kind of work she takes up.

The psychologist's report of a conversation with Helen brings out the following pathetic points:

She was particularly devoted to her mother and disliked rather intensely the grandmother, who brought her up after her mother's death. She resented the hard work she was obliged to do for her grandmother and the fact that she is now left without education or training. She craves superiority so much that she cannot bear to have her weaknesses exposed even to girls of her own age. She wants to go to the Girls' Friendly, but many of these girls she knew when she was younger, and they are better now than she is, and in better circumstances. The thing she cannot reconcile herself to is the loss of her mother. She cries for her every night. She wants a "regular home" and someone to care about her the way her mother did. She cannot endure being so lonely. Somehow she cannot find anybody she cares about. Men are all alike, at any rate the kind that she meets are. She has no use for men anyway. She might marry a man if he could give her all the money she wanted, but she wouldn't marry to help a man work and make a home. If she has to work she would rather work for herself.

When asked how she came to have such a grudge against men, she says it was hearing her mother tell about her father. She wouldn't want to live a life like her mother's. He used to come home drunk and never supported her mother. She wants education more than anything, but she hates to have people do so much for her. She is crazy to belong to a gymnasium and learn to swim and dance. She thinks she just wants all the things she missed in her childhood. She speaks of moods and depressions when she cannot talk to anyone, when she just had to go to bed to forget it. She worries herself to death when she hasn't a job, and feels desperate that she is so little prepared to earn her own living. . . . . The girl is really a child in her desires and is, as she says, looking for a mother and the care she should have had as a little child. She is unstable partly because she is not ready to be independent. She is afraid of standing alone. She wants to be protected. There is something about the girl that is

appealing and convincing. She has enough ability to warrant assistance. If some further education could be obtained for her, especially along the line of English, it might be a good thing. She certainly should have the gymnasium and dancing, if possible. One wonders if she could be placed in a home where she would receive some of the mothering she craves.

Before going for a later psychological interview, Helen said to the social worker, "Well, here I've been to the dental clinic to get my teeth cut out. Now I go to the doctor to get my ideas cut out. I would like to have something left to myself." The psychologist reported that, despite this remark, "Helen resigned herself to intimate conversation with apparent enjoyment."

After expressing again her dislike of men, she told of what she claimed was her only sex experience. It was recorded by the psychologist as follows:

> It was just after her grandmother's death and she was all alone. She had no money and no one to fall back on. She had gone to live with a woman who was giving her three dollars a week. She was very miserable and depressed, and a soldier took an interest in her, praised her, admired her, and made love to her. She was crazy about soldiers anyway, and was completely carried away by his flattery. He had asked her to marry him. One night when they were out at dinner he got her to drinking. She had never had any experience with drinking before; she did not like the taste of it and she began to feel queer, but he insisted upon her going on. She does not remember what happened until she found herself in a hotel the next morning. She thinks if she had ever seen him again, she would have put a bullet through his head; she still feels the same way about it; she can never forgive him. . . . . She thinks she hates all her family. She blames her mother for bringing her into the world at all. She hates her father for having abused her mother and for drinking, and she hates her grandmother for not giving her better opportunity for education. She does not blame her mother as much as she does the others, but she isn't sure she really loves her mother because the time when she thinks about her is when somebody is mean to her, or she can't get what she wants and then she thinks, "If my mother were living she would give me this—and that isn't love," says Helen.

She told the psychologist that her mother had dressed her so prettily that other children were always glad to walk along the street with her and everybody noticed her but that after her mother died all that was changed.

The agency helped Helen get many different jobs in minor clerical

work, as sales girl and telephone-operator, but she kept none of them long. She seemed very anxious to get more education or training, and finally the agency sent her to an institution for girls in New York; but, when she found it was not a real school as she had believed, she would not stay. The agency's visitor who went with her to the school, reports:

We were shown into a dreary, forlorn looking reception room, and Helen was conscious of the atmosphere of the place at once. Said she did not like it. While Helen was upstairs putting on the uniform of the school, the worker tried to explain to the woman in charge the spirit in which Helen was coming there. She seemed sympathetic, but said the discipline was very rigid, and there was not much chance to mother the girls individually. They did not use corporal punishment, but every night the girls stood up and were marked for misdemeanors during the day. She spoke of girls who had had sex experience as "fallen girls" and placed little value on education in the intellectual sense. She thought that character was the only thing that really counted. The girls in the institution were taught fine sewing, cooking, and laundry work. Three evenings a week, from 7 until quarter of 8, they had studies. One girl was having special training in French, but this rather interfered with the work of the Home. She said that the girls had tether ball, croquet, and considerable time for out-of-door play. . . . . In years past it had been their habit to take the girls out occasionally for an outing, and she hoped they might do so again. They had to be very careful in doing this, as the girls from the Home were known and marked as "bad girls." When Helen returned to the room in the uniform, she had been crying and was feeling very unhappy. All her personal belongings had been taken away from her, and she was to be allowed to correspond only with the social worker. . . . . All persons connected with the Home impressed the visitor with their age. . . . . Visitor had another chance to talk with Helen alone before leaving. She was dreadfully unhappy and begged visitor to take her away at once. . . . . Education was what she wanted more than anything else, and she did not see much chance of getting it there. Visitor told her that she thought it too soon to make the decision to leave, but promised faithfully to return at the end of one month to take her away if she was not happy. Visitor told the worker at the home with whom she left Helen that we thought we might have misrepresented the Home, as we had referred to it always as a school, and if Helen found it was not going to give her what she anticipated we would not urge her to stay.

Two days later the head of the school wired the worker to come for Helen, as she was unhappy. After this experience Helen grew steadily more irresponsible.

For about four years close contact with her was maintained by the agency. During this time there was continued instability and immoral-

ity. Many new positions were secured; many different kinds of training were discussed. The workers of the agency were patient and interested, but Helen grew progressively more unreliable and irresponsible. Finally, she gave birth to an illegitimate child, who was placed in an institution and died when seven months old. She had been so promiscuous that the paternity of the baby was uncertain, but there was evidence that the father was a physician in the hospital in which she had worked.

A physical examination had shown that Helen had never been very strong. Early in the history of the case she had complained of not feeling well and of losing weight, but refused treatment. However, she had gone through a long course of very painful dental treatments, as her teeth had been in a wretched condition. When pregnant, she had tried in every way to bring about an abortion. After the birth of the child she was found to have gonorrhea, and was sent to the city hospital for treatment but refused to stay or to go to the clinic for regular treatments.

She was under the agency's care for a period of five years. The worker finally came to the conclusion that she came to them only when she needed aid and that she was very indifferent to their wishes at other times. The agency expended on Helen for lunches, recreation, car fare, board, and incidentals, $237.86. From the beginning to the end, the record is a history of rapid changes of jobs and of boarding-houses. She never stayed in one place or did one thing for any length of time. She did not keep the last appointment made by the social worker with her. The last entry stated that Mrs. Mayfield, a friend, was in the office to find out where Helen was. Helen had bought a coat on her charge account and had never paid for it.

There was careful physical examination but inability to get her to follow out the treatment advised. There were intensive psychological examinations, but recommendations were not carried out. Although close contact was maintained for four years, the workers had no effective influence on her.

CASE NO. 2[2]

Edith Sawyer, twenty-three years old, was an unmarried mother referred to the agency by a hospital social-service department. She claimed that the father of her child was in the marines, but no effort was made to get in touch with him as Edith did not wish this done. The agency worker sent her with her baby to a convalescent home. Here, according to the record, she behaved very badly and solicited men in the neighborhood.

[2] Selected by agency.

She and the baby were then sent to a denominational reformatory institution for girls in a neighboring city, where she stayed a year. On discharge, she was given a course in filing, was offered work in filing, but married a pickpocket and disappeared, leaving the baby who was placed by the agency in an institution with the understanding that Edith's mother, a cook in service, would pay the board.

Edith said that she herself, when small, had been placed out through some agency. No record of this was found, however. Edith's legitimacy is questioned; but the mother claimed to have been married, and no investigation was made on this point.

A physical examination had been made in order to secure her admission to the institution. There is no information regarding her mentality, education, occupation, or recreation. No definite plan was ever made. Aside from placing her in the institution and giving her a filing course, the only treatment provided was taking the girl out to lunch.

Summarizing, attention might be called to the fact that no effort was made to establish the paternity of the illegitimate child. Vocational training was provided but without knowledge of the girl's ability or interests. Nor is there evidence of any plan based on her needs.

Case No. 3[3]

Effie Thomas, nineteen years old, because she was pregnant, had been referred to a Philadelphia girls' agency by a doctor on the staff of a girls' agency in Trenton, New Jersey. She had lived in the country near a small town in New Jersey with her father and stepmother. Her father was a night watchman, very ignorant; and Effie had never had proper supervision at home. She refused to give the name of the father of her child, as she said he was a bootlegger and she would not want to marry him. After the birth of the child at an institution in Trenton, Effie secured a position at housework with her baby, but decided to come to Philadelphia because she had a young man friend there. The Trenton agency asked the girls' agency in Philadelphia to help her get work as a waitress in Philadelphia. She got a position, but lost it by tardiness. It was then arranged that she should take a course in filing and live in a girls' boarding-home. She did not keep the rules in the home, stayed out late at night, and had so many men around that the management of the home would not keep her. Evidently she dropped her filing course at this time, as she got a position with a telephone company, which she did not

[3] Selected by agency.

keep. When she refused to meet the social worker from the girls' agency to discuss her behavior, which they felt was steadily growing worse, the executives of the society secured her arrest, and she was sent by the Municipal Court to the State Reformatory for Women. She ran away from there, however, with some other girls but was caught with the others and brought back. Effie behaved so badly on her return that she was sent to the Eastern Penitentiary and later to the county prison at Doylestown. The baby, in the meantime, had been boarded by the girls' agency. While Effie was in jail, the executives of the agency persuaded her to sign papers consenting to the adoption of her child by a street-car conductor and his wife.

The Trenton agency reported that Effie had been examined by a psychologist and diagnosed as "neither feeble-minded nor insane." Effie claimed to have completed the eighth grade in school. There was no physical examination obtained by the agency, although it was later reported that she was treated at the court's hospital for gonorrhea. She had been a waitress in a private home and in a restaurant. Also, she had done housework, which she disliked. She had worked for the telephone company and had been given a course in filing. Her interests were never ascertained, and no provision for recreation is recorded under the services rendered Effie.

She was, from time to time, taken to lunch by the social worker; and her name was used in prayer groups.

Before reluctantly signing the adoption papers, Effie wrote from prison, "Gloria has a disposition similar to mine, and I would like to have a chance to be a real mother to her as no one would understand her as I do."

Summing up, then, it may be noted that no effort made to establish the paternity of the illegitimate child. Vocational training was provided without knowledge of the girl's ability or interests. There was no understanding of her needs, and her baby was placed for adoption against her wishes.

Case No. 4[4]

Marie Gaines, born April 27, 1905, had been sent to the State Training School for girls on the charge of immorality, January, 1923. The school asked the girls' agency to investigate and to take a friendly interest in her family. It was learned that there were in the family, besides

[4] Selected by agency. In this case the agency record is supplemented by summaries supplied the writer by the other organizations concerned with this problem.

the father and mother and Marie, eight children: Fannie (born October 26, 1899), Mamie (born September 16, 1901, had died in 1922), John (July 18, 1903), Louise (August 22, 1907), Catherine (August 25, 1910), Henry (July 11, 1912), Edward (August 13, 1914), Hattie (July 1, 1919), and Fred (April 22, 1923). The father had been hurt in an industrial accident and blood poisoning had resulted, for which he received an allotment of $12.00 a week in compensation. A nineteen-year-old son earned $10.00 a week, of which he gave the family $8.00. The entire family did home work, putting snap fasteners on cards. Even a two-year-old child put safety pins into cards. The record stated that the home was very dirty and unattractive. Both the father and the mother were untidy and anemic looking, and there had been several cases of tuberculosis in the father's family. The mother had been a domestic servant before her marriage. An older sister, now married, had been unmanageable, and at one time was in the girls' reformatory. She had been keeping house for a man with whom it was supposed she had been intimate. Evidently when she did not contribute to her family's income, she had been sent, on complaint of the father, to the reformatory. It was found, through the Social Service Exchange, that the family had been known, since Marie was born, to a society interested in the protection of children, and was later known to four family societies, a Lutheran church visitor, the Salvation Army, two hospital social-service departments, the parole department of the Training School for Girls, the Juvenile and Misdemeanants courts, and the Workmen's Compensation Bureau.

The children's protective society summarized its experience with the family as follows:

This case was first known to this agency in 1905. Mrs. Gaines was said to be running a fortune-telling place. It was stated then that the children were starving and had been begging in the neighborhood and that the father was a drunkard. It was, however, revealed afterward that he was not a confirmed drunkard; and the mother said he was a good husband, except on Saturday nights when he would drink. The police lieutenant who was interviewed at this time spoke of the home of Mr. and Mrs. Gaines as one of the worst homes in his district, stating that there were always quarreling and disturbances going on there. There was a long interval when this agency seemed not to have been active on this case as conditions in the home seemed to have improved. In 1912 complaints came in from the family agency stating that this family had been known to that organization for a long time and that Mr. Gaines was a man who would not work and they felt that the protective society could straighten out the matter in the home. Mrs. Gaines was considered by the visitor at this time

to be mentally below par. She was said to be always sending the children out with letters to different people petitioning for help. Mr. Gaines at this time was said to be faking a crippled condition of an arm, which he had tied up as though he had sustained a severe injury, and in this condition he would beg. He seemed to work periodically and then be out of a job. The family agency was obliged to help. The family was visited through 1912, and conditions improved for awhile. Later in the year of 1912, however, as the children were said to be without shoes and without sufficient clothes and Mr. Gaines was again without work, conditions seemed to warrant further complaints from interested people.

In 1913 there were further complaints of Mr. Gaines's begging and also complaints of the children being forced to beg. Mrs. Gaines was said to be going by another name and called herself Mrs. Bailey. This charge of begging was later denied by Mr. Gaines, and the agent at that time reported the home as looking pretty well and also reported that there was a pile of clothes there and new shoes which had been brought in with some money which Mr. Gaines had received from a benefit society to which he belonged. Through 1913 there were further complaints. Some of these were against the man of the home, and repeatedly said that he was lazy. Some of these complaints were against the family conditions, however, where fighting and quarreling were said to be going on all the time. The family society was active on this family during this year also. Mrs. Harper of the Central Hospital was also interested in the family; and through 1913 the Children's Society supervised the family, and the police were active in watching the home. The constable, according to Mrs. Gaines, at this time was threatening to put her out of her home. The family was located later in this same year in Park Avenue, and it was then suggested that the three youngest children be put away so that Mrs. Gaines could work. The school was helping at this time, but their reports were unsatisfactory. On June 20, 1913, Mrs. Gaines told the representative that she had a sister in Camden who was helping her. Mr. and Mrs. Gaines seemed to have separated for a while, and only on condition that Mrs. Gaines would not return to her husband was this sister assisting the family. The family seemed to have moved a good deal after this; and the society dropped the case for a time, but in 1915 again became active because of complaints against Mr. Gaines's alleged cruelty. It was also charged against Fannie at this time that she might be having intimate relations with a man who lived near the family.

On February 20, 1916, Fannie ran away with a girl named Lillie, and the two girls went to live in a furnished room with a man intimate with them both. Miss Brown of the court informed the children's protective society that Fannie had a runaway record but that sooner or later she would return home of her own accord. The court considered Fannie feeble-minded and insisted that she have institutional care. The general condition of the family at that time seemed

fair. Later in the year 1916 the society had complaints again, charging Mr. Gaines with cruelty. It was alleged that he struck Fannie so that she had a scar back of her ear. Mr. Gaines was out of work during this time, and there were also reports that Mrs. Gaines was the stepmother of these children and not the real mother. This report was later denied by Mrs. Gaines. On October 21, 1916, Miss James of the social service department of the Hahnemann Hospital stated that Fannie was picked up in the park at two o'clock in the morning. The hospital seemed to have treated the girl, and the doctor feared abscesses of the brain. The Broadway Church became interested in the family, and the society dropped the case for a while.

In 1920 the society was again requested to make an investigation, this time by Mr. Gaines, who seemed to have been worried because Fannie, while in the hands of the court, became intimate with a young Italian. Fannie stated that she was married to him and living with his people. She became pregnant and complained that her husband did not give her medical care, and it was advised that after her baby was born she should make a complaint against him to the court.

In 1922 the society again became active on the case, as Mr. Gaines seemed to have been injured while working for a milk man. He had cut his finger, and blood poison set in, which affected not only his hands but his leg. It was at this time that he began to receive the payments of his present compensation of $12 a week. Fannie seemed to have had a hard time getting along with her husband and her mother-in-law, who appeared to be the source of most of the trouble. On June 27, 1922, both Mr. and Mrs. Gaines were in the office, and they said that both Marie and Fannie had been admitted to the girls' reformatory.

In 1924, more complaints began to come in, this time against Catherine, who it was stated was running out to moving pictures and going to a questionable house. There was some suggestion that she was intimate with a man at this house. It was also thought that Catherine was intimate with another man, and that she went to his room to see him. Mr. Gaines denied this and stated that this second man had only helped him on his milk route. On February 27, 1924, Mr. Gaines began to work for a firm, putting safety pins and snaps on a card. The children helped with this work. Catherine was under the supervision of the society. On February 29, 1924, there seemed to have been no urgent or vital reason why the society should stay in on the case; and as Catherine's record had improved, the case was dropped.

On August 21, 1924, another complaint came in, this time against Louise, alleging incorrigibility; and it was stated in this complaint that Louise was running around with another man. Mr. Gaines was still receiving his $12 a week compensation when we visited on August 23, 1924, and was still working for the same firm from whom he received 10 cents for doing 100 cards. Mrs. Gaines stated at this time that they were still helping Fannie and her family

and that if it were not for their help, they would starve. The Lutheran Church at this time became interested in the case, and the pastor said that he would get the children interested in Sunday school, and conditions in the family did improve. Fannie, who was interviewed at this time, said that she would have been better satisfied if her mother had let her alone. She also stated that there were reports about Louise going with a married man who had a restaurant.

On October 29, 1924, Mr. and Mrs. Gaines and the family moved. He, at this time, was apparently unable to leave the house, and the teacher at the school suspected that the children were helping him string tags and were kept up late at night for this work. On December 17, 1924, the family were located in Euclid Street, when Mrs. Gaines complained that he was receiving only his $12 a week compensation and that this money and the money which Louise made was all that was coming into the house. Mr. Gaines also stated he was not being treated right by the hospital, which should have given him treatment for his crippled condition. We visited the house several times, but it was never discovered that the children were stringing tags, although Mr. Gaines occasionally, when interviewed, was found still at this work. The family seemed to have become (February 19, 1925) anxious about Marie, who was in the girls' reformatory; and they asked the society to get in touch with the supervisor there in order to find out when Marie would be returned. On February 22, 1925, the supervisor wrote that Marie was about to be paroled and that the parole officer there would watch the home until Marie was twenty-one. John, who had been employed in the country on a farm, lost his job, it was said, on March 9, 1925, and was coming home to live.

The hospital denied that Mr. Gaines had been mistreated as he stated. The hospital worker there said that in fact he was given a great deal of treatment and massage. We dropped the case on February 28, 1925, as conditions in the home seemed to be pretty fair, as Marie was under direct supervision of the reformatory, and as the school records of the younger children were found fairly good, and as both Mr. and Mrs. Gaines insisted that they were getting along all right and if in trouble, their married children would help.

The whole history of the family has been a very varied one, with suggestions of immorality on the part of the girls of the family and with feeble-mindedness in the case of Fannie and, according to some agencies, in the case of Mrs. Gaines. While it is quite probable that Mr. Gaines, in working on his tags and other bits of home work, calls on his children to help him out, we never have caught the children at this work.

One family agency report may be briefly summoned up as follows:

Our first contact with the Gaines family was October, 1908. At that time Mr. Gaines was in prison, he had been sent up for stealing. It seems that he had been employed by a wholesale flour concern at the time of his arrest. The family were living in rooms over a Chinese laundry. Mrs. Gaines's mother as-

sisted by paying the rent, and we relieved with food until Mr. Gaines was released. Our next contact was December, 1910, when Mr. Gaines was out of employment, but expected to go to work the next week. We continued to relieve with food until Mr. Gaines secured a permanent position. There had been a repetition of this condition, the man continually out of work until March of 1923, when was injured at this place of employment and was receiving $12.00 a week compensation. Mrs. Gaines was pregnant at this time, and the eldest son had been working but was then out of employment. Marie was at girls' reformatory. Fannie and Mamie had married. Mamie had died January, 1923, of pneumonia. They were then paying $25 a month rent. We arranged for maternity care for Mrs. Gaines and supplied clothing. The child was born April 22, 1923. We arranged for treatment for Mr. Gaines at the hospital as the insurance company was unable to pay for any more treatments. Our last contact with family was May 14, 1925, when Mr. Gaines was working on tags. The daughter was employed earning $5.00 a week. Mrs. Gaines had a T. and A. operation at hospital. Through a friend who does private work, she was assisted with food, coal, and Thanksgiving and Christmas baskets. We recently had a telephone call from the insurance people, saying that they felt that Mr. Gaines could make more of an effort to help himself. They were to notify us if they were going to continue with compensation.

The record of another family agency was summarized as follows:

The family first came to our attention in March, 1908, and we have had numerous inquiries since. Mr. Gaines at that time was out of work, which we thought might have been due to the industrial depression at the time. Relief was given, and we were successful in arousing the family to their needs, and they responded for a time. Our investigation from beginning to end proved that the man was a heavy drinker and lazy, he had served six months in the penitentiary for larceny, and he seems perfectly content to accept relief from any quarter. The family went around among the different churches, Catholic as well as Protestant, where the children would be enrolled in Sunday schools and from which they received a great deal of help at various times. The children were frequently sent to the homes of the donors with hard-luck stories.

We have learned that Mrs. Gaines is below par mentally but feel that she is sober, though a thoroughly shiftless and dirty type, for which reason her family felt that she was not fit to be a wife and mother. Repeatedly the man has deserted his family, or his wife has been compelled to leave him on account of non-support. Her family have taken her in, but refuse now to do anything further, as she will not take action against him for support. We secured positions for him a number of times, but for one reason or another he has not made good. We found later in our dealings with the family that another family society was interested, and we left the matter in their hands.

The hospital contributes the following facts:

The Gaines family were referred to us on February 25, 1916, by the court. Fannie, who was eighteen years old, was referred to this hospital for medical treatment. She had been picked up as a runaway. She stated that she had left home because her father drank and she was unhappy. She had been followed by a colored man who struck her on the back. When she regained consciousness she was in a hospital, but later the officer took her out. She refused to be sent home, so she was sent to the court aid agency, pending investigation. The father called at the court in an intoxicated condition and said that the daughter was epileptic. The court physician's report stated that patient had epileptic seizures for about ten years, with the average of two seizures a month. Fannie was admitted to the laryngeal ward of this hospital February 22, 1916. Patient was reported to court and case closed.

On May 5, 1921, a letter was received from the Department of Welfare enclosing a letter from Mrs. Gaines asking for help for herself and seven children, as her husband was sick in Philadelphia. We visited and found the family living in a five-room house, for which they paid $15.00 a month rent. The only income was $15 a week, $10 of which was earned by John, who was an errand boy. Marie was living at service earning $5.00 a week. Mrs. Jacobs (Mamie) and her husband were living at home, as it was impossible for him to obtain employment. Mrs. Gaines was blind in one eye and nearsighted in the other. Besides this, she was partially deaf. The case was referred to a family society which had previously been active with them.

The summary from the Misdemeanants' Division of the Municipal Court follows:

On February 2, 1916, Fannie, who was born October 26, 1899, was referred by the police through the Detective Bureau to us, charged with being a runaway. She gave the story of having been attacked by an unknown colored man on the previous day, having been struck on the back, and when she regained consciousness she was in a hospital, from where she was removed the following day and sent to us. The girl was found to be suffering from chronic mastoiditis and adenoids, in addition to which she was an epileptic, having seizures about twice a month. She was sent same date to the Philadelphia Hospital. Fannie had had sex experience and was far behind her normal grade in school, seemed to be a chronic runaway. Stated that she was unhappy at home. Home conditions were bad, house dirty and overcrowded, consisting of three rooms only, where parents and eight children lived. Fannie was the oldest, and the youngest was then fourteen months old. Father was a hard drinker, has since become paralyzed. The mother an epileptic. All the children unhealthy. Father a Roman Catholic, and mother a Protestant. At time of this writing (March 4, 1926) there are now ten children. Fannie was tried with little or no success from May 5, 1916, to January 5, 1917, and during this time was sent temporarily to Cuthbert House, was treated for her epilepsy, operated upon at Wom-

en's Hospital for mastoid as well as her other ailments. On January 5, 1917, heard before judge who committed her to girls' reformatory. Upon her admission she was placed in the hospital, as she was then suffering from an active syphilitic condition. On December 24, 1918, she was paroled from the reformatory to live with her mother. On May 1, 1919, complaint was made that Fannie was frequenting a garage. It was apparent she had a key and was taking men there for immoral purposes. At this time Fannie had left home and was living at Pine Street. A man by the name of Luigi came in with the officer, stated that he was engaged to be married to Fannie, having secured a marriage license at Media. On May 10, 1919, they were married by Father ———. The authorities at the reformatory were willing to allow Fannie to remain with her husband. A short time after the marriage Fannie ran away from her husband. Later a brother-in-law saw her on the street accept one dollar from an old man, then take him into the house. From time to time we have heard that Fannie was leading a life of prostitution, but as her husband was unable to locate her address definitely, she was not brought into court.

Health: February 21, 1916, first examination Gc. negative. May 19, 1919, second examination, Gc. positive. Wassermann negative. Fannie ran away from reformatory. She was returned there, and result of medical examination was sent to superintendent. Report from Tower Room, City Hall. Psychologist examined girl at City Hall May 3d. Case diagnosed as feeble-minded and incapable of looking after her own affairs. She should be cared for permanently in an institution.

On May 18, 1919, the father made request to have Mamie taken under supervision by the court. Again on August 3, 1919, the case referred to court by postal card from mother. Mamie was born September 16, 1901, then eighteen years old. She has previously been arrested as a runaway, heard in Juvenile Court, placed on probation until 1917. This time being charged with incorrigibility, going out every night, staying late, sitting underneath a bridge where it was very dark and lonely, associating with bad company. Behavior improved somewhat under friendly supervision, but on March 16, 1920, Mamie was brought to court upon complaint of her father. This girl had a fairly good work record, having worked in factory since fourteen. Upon examination Mamie found to be suffering from Gc. on March 23, 1920. Committed to the City Hospital by judge. Mamie had one miscarriage, for which she was treated at the hospital October 3, 1919. Mamie's conduct unsatisfactory at the hospital. Diagnosis—"Psychopathic personality with emotional episode." Mamie transferred to D. O. W. June 1, 1920. Operated on for appendicitis.

June 16, 1920, Mamie returned to Gynecean Hospital. August 17, 1920, the case heard and Mamie placed on probation. Three days later Mamie arrested as a runaway in company with her sister, Marie, later taken to house of detention. On August 24, 1920, Mamie committed to House of Good Shepherd

for further order of court. Two days later returned to court for misconduct. September 3, 1920, Mamie's conduct so bad at court that she was taken to county prison until date of hearing, September 7, 1920. Mamie placed on probation by judge. Taken home by father. Mamie's conduct varied for about a month. Worked only off and on.

On November 9, 1920, Mamie married to Alfred Jones by Father ———, who stated that he was unfavorably impressed by Mamie. January 1, 1921, mother reported that Mamie was not happy with her husband, as he was so jealous that he would not allow Mamie out of his sight. February 10, 1921, both Mamie and her husband out of work. Effort made to secure work for both. April 28, 1921, complaint that husband was abusing Mamie. One month later he refused to support her. Conditions worse from time to time, and on October 11, 1921, as mother reported that Mamie was not doing well and as she needed medical care, bench warrant was issued. October 11, 1921, Mamie was brought in. On October 14, 1921, the case heard and Mamie committed to House of Good Shepherd by judge until June 30, 1922. Sisters at House of Good Shepherd gave good report of Mamie, who was now in good physical condition and suggested her release as soon as a proper plan could be effected; but on June 20, 1922, Mamie in company with another girl escaped over the wall. June 30, 1922, bench warrant issued, fugitive from justice. July 3, 1922, bench warrant served. Mamie held for contempt of court. Mamie explained that she was discouraged and homesick, so she jumped the wall and that an officer caught her but allowed her to go to her sister. She got in touch with her husband, who secured the room where she was arrested. July 7, 1922, the case heard and Mamie discharged by judge. Taken home by parents.

Health: March 17, 1920, first examination, Gc. test positive—Wassermann test negative. Mamie receiving daily treatments until August 23, 1920; second examination, Gc. test negative—Wassermann test not made. Treatment from January 26, 1921, to February 23, 1921. Test taken April 28, 1921, positive Gc. Test taken May 31, 1921, positive. Reported state dispensary from June 19, 1921, to June 26, 1921; from September 23, 1921, to September 30, 1921. On October 13, 1921, Gc. test not made, Wassermann test negative. July 5, 1922, fourth examination, Gc. and Wassermann test negative.

Report of psychologist, March 18, 1920: "Intelligence subnormal, shows an intellectual development corresponding to that of a ten or eleven year old. Very vague, indefinite, untruthful, undependable, careless, indifferent, impatient. Reaction nervous. Seemed worried and ill at ease. Very defiant toward her father. Not amiable. Emotionally unstable. Seems to be morally irresponsible at least at present. Coupled with her poor intelligence and emotional instability, there appears to be an utter lack of realization of moral principles, what they mean and what defiance of them means." [Mamie died January, 1923.]

Marie Gaines was born April 27, 1905. Arrested on August 20, 1920, charged with being a runaway. Then past fifteen years old. First taken to house of detention, but as she reported that she would be sixteen within a day or so, was returned to Misdemeanants' Court. At this time she had not had any sex experience, but later it developed that she has been promiscuously immoral since about the time of her arrest. Girl had left school at fourteen, being then in the fourth grade. August 24, 1920, case heard before judge. She was placed on probation and transferred to Juvenile Department May 5, 1921. Marie again arrested as a runaway. Admitted going with man known as "Jimmie"; stayed in his room. The mother of this man kept a rooming-house at this place and knew that Marie was staying there. Girl had been doing housework for greater part of two years, later working in a spice factory. May 8, 1921, the case heard and Marie placed on probation by judge.

September 7, 1922, father in office. Marie had left home the day before, he suspected that she was being harbored by a man who had a bad record. Was married man and had served a term in penitentiary for statutory rape. On parole at time. Upon complaint of court, man was returned to penitentiary, September 21, 1922. Bench warrant issued for Marie on September 22, 1922. Brought into court. September 23, 1922, girl so badly infected that she was removed at once to the venereal ward of Philadelphia General Hospital. On October 17, 1922, case heard. Marie committed to the Gynecean Hospital. December 18, 1922, discharged from Gynecean Hospital and placed on strict probation. Taken home by her father.

January 16, 1923, complaint that Marie had left home. January 19, 1923, arrested as a runaway. Stated that she had gone, one month before, to live with a man. It was learned that she was living with another man and taking care of his three children. January 23, 1923, case heard and Marie committed to girls' reformatory. There the girl was placed in the cottage with the girls of the lowest mentality. While her conduct and work improved somewhat, she was still undeveloped. It was found that she had the mental ability of a child of eight years. Marie paroled to her mother recently. No report since.

Health: August 24, 1920, first examination, Gc. and Wassermann tests negative. Never been immoral. May 26, 1921, second examination, Gc. and Wassermann test negative. May 4, 1922, third examination, Gc. and Wassermann tests negative. September 23, 1922, fourth examination, Gc. and Wassermann tests negative. January 20, 1923, fifth examination, Gc. test positive; Wassermann test negative. Neuropsychiatric examination May 28, 1921. Mentality subnormal. Memory span inadequate. Marked apathy and lack of cooperation. Not willing to try. Performance, qualitatively poor. Shows lack of discrimination, planfulness, retention; memory is poor; and attention wanders easily. Mental age 8 years, 3 months.

Louise Gaines, born August 22, 1907, now eighteen years old, first came to

our notice on June 23, 1925, when father made complaint that Louise was working for and living with Tom Jones. She had just given birth to a baby of which this man was the father. June 23, 1925, adultery warrant issued for Tom Jones, same date warrant served at Bank Street. When visit was made, it was found that Louise denied that Tom Jones was her child's father. Parents did not realize Louise's condition until the child was born. She had given her wages right along at home; recently this man had been taking her wages home to her parents. June 26, 1925, case heard and man held under $500 bail for court on charge of F. and B. by judge. Louise committed to a private Home for Mothers and Children with her baby, with a report to be made to this court in one month.

July 13, 1925, Louise before the grand jury in presence of probation officer of Women's Criminal Division. Louise acknowledged that Tom Jones was the father of her child and that he was a married man. July 17, 1925, report that Louise and her child are doing well at the Home.

Health: Not examined on June 23, 1925, when committed to Home.

From this report you will readily see that the parents are inadequate, and while they have always reported wrongdoing, they have failed to co-operate in any effort to control the children.

The worker from the girls' agency visited Marie several times, both at her own home and in the reformatory. She recommended that Marie should not be paroled, but there is no notation of rehabilitation service of any kind attempted for the family, and no joint conference of the agencies interested was ever held. At the end of two years Marie was paroled to her father. The following summary was received from the girls' reformatory after Marie was paroled:

She was paroled to her father, John Gaines in Philadelphia, February 19, 1925. Marie is definitely feeble-minded and should have permanent custodial care. Since it was impossible to transfer her to Laurelton at that time and the family was in quite straightened circumstances, we allowed her to be paroled home. The Gaines's have no idea of proper training for their children. They claim a parent's right to require children to help support them as soon as they are able to do so. They do this by means of homework such as attaching strings to cards, pinning safety pins or fastening snaps on cards. Even the two-year-old baby in a high chair had her turn in helping to meet the financial situation. Recreation does not enter into their lives except a movie for the children once a week on Saturday after they have earned it by satisfactory work.

Marie worked in a restaurant for a few weeks after going home, making $12 a week. In the evening she helped the family in attaching strings to labels. On each visit and through letters from Marie, we received good reports. When

an attempt was made to see Marie, herself, in the evening, Mrs. Gaines finally announced that Marie was working in Ocean City as waitress in a hotel, making $12 a week, address unknown. Marie's letters ceased until August, 1925, while visitor was on her vacation. A letter from her at that time stated that she had returned home and would be home on an appointed evening. Another visitor called at that time. Marie claimed to be working; the family expected to move but refused to give their change of address. The family had always had the proverbial chip on the shoulders from the first day of Marie's parole. They seemed to resent any supervision from the Reformatory.

September 11, 1925, Mrs. Gaines reported that Marie was beyond her control. She had been running around with men and was then living with a twenty-eight-year-old man. The mother confessed that she had been giving false reports about Marie. For several months she had not known her whereabouts but expected to find her before visitor became suspicious. She had never been working in Ocean City, but had been living with Bob Smith. She finally came home for a few days, and the parents watched her carefully so that she would not run away again. She finally left and then the mother reported her missing for the first time. Before we could call at the address, Marie had moved. Her whereabouts are still unknown to us. The girl needs permanent custodial care, but will pass from our jurisdiction April 27, 1926, when she becomes twenty-one years of age.

About two years after Marie had been paroled to her family, she was arrested as a disorderly street-walker. She was then committed to the Department of Public Welfare and sent by them to the venereal ward of the Philadelphia General Hospital with a 4-plus positive Wassermann. She ran away from the hospital, was married a month later, soon began going with other men, and at the last report, a warrant has been taken out for her by the officials of Department of Public Welfare, who planned, when she was located, to recommend her commitment to the house of correction until she could be admitted to the State Institution for the Feeble-minded.

It is clear that no constructive plan was ever made by the visitors of the girls' agency or by any of the other numerous workers interested in this family, and no steps to end the constant child-labor violations in the home were taken.

CASE NO. 5[5]

Katherine Raines, eighteen years old, was referred to this girls' agency on October 19, 1918, by the Young Women's Christian Association, which reported that she had not paid her board at their house, al-

[5] Selected by agency.

though she was supposed to be working in a restaurant. Katherine told the worker that she was illegitimate and that she had been left by her mother with her grandparents in England. The history of her life with them was vague. She said that after their death she was for about six months in the workhouse in Bradford, Yorkshire, England. She came over alone to her mother when she was twelve years old. She had no love for her mother who was, she said, a quarrelsome person unable to get along with anyone. She did not want her mother to know where she was. Katherine had no work.

She had left school at the age of fourteen. Little is known of the education she received in England. She said she liked Shakespeare but did not care for movies. She had been a factory operator and had done housework. The record indicates that she had had very little recreation.

The girls' agency's worker secured several physical examinations for Katherine. Each time the doctor commented on her round shoulders and ordered corrective exercises. A psychological examination stated:

> Sanford Revision of the Binet, chronological age 19 yrs. 11 mos., mental age 14 yrs. 5 mos., Basal year 14, upper limit 16, intelligence quotient 91. While Katherine has little practical ability, she is quite intelligent but feels that she is queer and not liked. She is a very poorly adjusted girl and is in need of someone who will show her the nature of her maladjustments and help her to work the situation out for her self satisfactorily.

No definite plan for her care, or objective in dealing with her problems, was stated on her record. Interest was, however, shown in her recreation. She was taken to lunch and dinner, on hikes, and to the theater—on one occasion to see Robert Mantell in *Julius Caesar*. She was helped to find work a number of times: domestic service, work in the kitchen and as waitress in two different hospitals, and work with children in a day nursery. She would not, however, stick to any job, but left each suddenly and without notice.

She was sent to a convalescent home, and her dental work was done. A shoulder brace was ordered for her, but there is no record that the plan suggested by the doctor or that corrective exercise to straighten her shoulders was carried out. Nor is there record that anyone succeeded in showing her the "nature of her maladjustments."

Some interest seems to have been taken in the whole family, as her mother was sent to a convalescent home and her half-brother, the mother's illegitimate child by another father, was given a mental examination.

The worker had been closely in touch with Katherine for three years and five months, from October 19, 1918, to March 10, 1922, when it seems that the regular worker left; and on August 30, 1922, the case was marked "dropped." It was reopened on October 10, 1922, when Katherine came in to see about getting work. She was sent by the second worker to a temporary shelter and to a hospital for tonsillectomy and then to an institution for convalescent care for two weeks. After her return, she telephoned that she had secured a position for herself as waitress in a hospital. Two weeks later the clinic where Katherine had been examined wrote the agency and stated that she had not returned for follow-up examination as they had requested. The agency replied February 25, 1924, that they were temporarily out of touch with Katherine, but that at their first opportunity they would endeavor to have her attend the clinic. There is no further entry on the record until, one year later, in February, 1925, when there is a second notation that the case is closed.

In addition to the girls' agency, the Young Women's Christian Association, a family society, a children's society, four hospitals, a convalescent home, and two institutions offering temporary shelter had been interested in Katherine and her family.

While there was good physical examination and care, and interest taken in her recreation, no definite plan or any objective was made clear, and the case was closed because the girl disappeared.

Case No. 6[6]

Caroline Chase, aged twenty-six, was referred to the girls' agency by a private physician for employment and advice. Caroline was an illegitimate child whose mother, soon after Caroline's birth, had married a man with fourteen children. The mother and the step-father had nine more, so that Caroline was entirely neglected. She went to live with aged grandmother and was finally, when she was ten years old, placed as incorrigible in the care of the county children's aid society. She ran away from the home in which she was placed, claiming that she did so because she was not sent to school. She was next committed to a Magdalen Home, where she associated with all kinds of girls. She was later taken from the home by an aunt, with whom she lived until she was seventeen. She then went home to take care of her mother during confinement, but could not stand the dirt and squalor and ran away. Her mother caused her to be arrested and she was sent to the State Training School

[6] Selected at random.

for Girls. After two years she was paroled, but soon broke her parole. Later, when on a drunken joy-ride, she was injured in an automobile accident; was returned from the hospital to the girls' training school, was again paroled and placed out at housework by workers of the girls' agency, and again ran away. She had lived with many different men, whom she said she "needed around" as she was not an "iceberg." There is no record on the part of the agency showing any plan of treatment, and the only notation of service rendered is that of finding a position for the girl at housework.

There was no investigation, no plan, and the service consisted of securing housework for the girl. The case was closed when she ran away.

CASE NO. 7[7]

Marjorie Denton was under the care of the children's agency between the age of three and seventeen. She was referred originally in 1910 for placement in a free home. Her father had deserted, and his whereabouts are unknown. Her mother was shiftless and intemperate, and Marjorie was placed in a foster-home. The record is incomplete, but the foster-mother stated that when the child was three and a half, her only bad habit was masturbation, and that she was a bright, pretty little girl. Ten months later, the visitor reported that the foster-mother had not one word of commendation for Marjorie but said that she was untruthful, impudent, and unfit to be with other children and that she would never adopt her. Two months later the visitor reported that the same caretaker wished to keep Marjorie and thought that she would outgrow unfortunate tendencies. Nine months later she was removed from this home, although no immediate reason was given. Two months later she was placed with a young couple who had no children. The report a year later, when Marjorie was six, stated that she was a restless, energetic child, full of high spirits, who had to be carefully looked after. She had told a story of her mother's being crazy and her father being black. The only comments in the record were that the home was clean and comfortable and the family very fond of her. In May, 1914, when Marjorie was seven, she was legally adopted by this family. No entry was then made for a year and a half, when the visitor stated that the adoptive mother was surprised to see anyone from the agency. Two years later the adoptive mother stated that Marjorie was becoming troublesome.

The next entries on the record a year later follow: "Marjorie's adoptive parents are plainly tired of her and incapable of giving her

[7] Selected at random.

proper parental care. The foster-mother said, 'I want her to go away and I don't care if I never see her again.' Adoptive parents now have a child of their own and seemed to have lost interest. She ran away and they want to have her committed to a reformatory." To the agent, she did not "seem depraved at all. . . . . Is most attractive looking, seems nervous, but has a straight-forward manner." She was, two weeks later, removed from her adopted home and placed with another family. There was no complaint in this home. She got along splendidly and the foster-mother was fond of her, but after about six months the adoptive parents wanted her back. She was returned to them and stayed with them for three years, when the mother reported that she stole and lied. She was then removed and placed in several other homes. She became thoroughly unstable, and her delinquencies continued until she was arrested for stealing a fur coat. Her adoptive parents refused to take any responsibility, and she was returned to the county in which they lived.

While Marjorie was being held in the Harrisburg Florence Crittenton Home until the question of whether Philadelphia or the other community should be held responsible for her support, she and another girl attempted to run away. She stole trinkets and a pocket-book. She was then sent immediately to the State Training School for Girls. When she was seventeen, according to the report of the psychological examination at the school, Marjorie had an I.Q. of 106.[8] "She is sensitive to the opinion of others, needs to be helped to reach a position in the community which she will not easily risk losing by yielding to temptation."

In March, 1926, two years after Morjorie had been sent to the Girls' Training School, the worker reported:

> Marjorie has been rather a difficult child to manage. She has stolen little things in the cottage, and for some time after her commitment made no effort to be a responsible member of the group. We have been trying to give her the attention she craves, and at the same time develop some standards of honor. She made quite an effort for a few months, which resulted in her having a responsible job in the kitchen. She was apparently doing well until it was discovered that she had been a party to a very underhanded affair and was also planning to run away. She was then taken to a Demoted Division, but she, with another girl, succeeded in running away. Their plan was well made, but they were found a few hours later on the road and returned to the school.

[8] Frequently social workers do not state in their summaries of psychologists' findings the test from which a mental age has been obtained. Conclusions reached on this basis are inaccurate, as scores obtained through different tests are not strictly comparable.

The Superintendent of the training school thinks that in spite of Marjorie's high I.Q. and many good points, she has been so badly handled for years that only after a long period of training will she be able to make satisfactory adjustments outside of an institution.

This is an instance of unfortunate foster-home placement, so that a long period of training under close supervision is now necessary for the girl.

CASE NO. 8[9]

Alma Peters was one of a family of three children under the care of the agency. She was under care from the time she was seven until she was twenty-one. Her father, who is described on the record as a weak man, but sober and industrious, was himself an illegitimate child. Her mother, who lived with another man in a seaside resort, told fortunes and drank. The father agreed to pay $8.00 a week toward the board of his three children. Alma was placed, at the age of seven, in a foster-home, where she got along well until the family decided to move West. Then came one change after another, and Alma became unstable and untruthful. The children were separated and placed in different homes.

After a visit from her sister, Alma wrote the worker:

DEAR MISS LESLIE:

I thought it would be nice to write thee a short letter. I hope thee is enjoying the vacation as I enjoyed mine very much. I went to a picnic with the Presbyterian Sunday School as I go there to Sabbath School.

I had a surprise today, I guess thee could never think of it. Clara came to see me and spent the afternoon with me. She is a worker. She gets up at half-past five and makes the fire, gets breakfast, washes the dishes, washes the seperator, gets the dinner or helps them, either mowes the lawn or irons or mayby studies birds. Thee sees she is always busy and enjoys it. She brought a humming birds nest, it was about an inch and a half across and hung down between two branches, it is made of cobb webbs and on the outside with blue sort of leaves. [Sketch.] It was perfect and neat. I guess thee has seen one, I don't know though.

I can cook egg plant without getting black, a good meal, make apple and peach jelly. I can make and have made a rice pudding. I have 3 glasses of apple jelly and two of peach.

We have a new principal who is Mr. Rayburn. I guess my teacher will likely be Miss Newlin. We start school September 3d.

I guess Father will come on Sunday. I don't know.

[9] Selected at random.

I said a short one, but had too much to write and it is quite long. I guess I will close with love from

Your loving friend,

ALMA

When Alma grew older, she did not like the positions at domestic service or factory work which were secured for her. She decided that she wanted to be a nurse, and arrangements were made for her to enter training. She would not keep the rules, and lost her chance there. Soon afterward she married a nice-appearing young man, the son of a minister. She had some affection for her mother and after she became independent saw her occasionally. Her mother was present at her wedding and as a wedding present gave her a deed to two lots she owned.

Several years later Alma's two children were placed by a children's agency while she was in a hospital. On their record is a statement that her husband had again come to the office to have the children placed, as Alma is a "poor wife and mother" and wants to work instead of taking care of family. Further investigation showed that Alma was thoroughly irresponsible. She said that she did not want to have her children placed and brought up the way she had been; that her unhappiness had made her "lie and steal," etc. She told the worker that she had been "wild" before her marriage, and later admitted that she had been intimate with other men since her marriage.

The last of the record shows that Alma has a bad case of gonorrhea, which she gave her husband. They were living together and had the oldest child with them. The youngest was placed in a home where the father paid $4.25 a week through the court for his support. The worker stated that Alma cared for no one but herself and that her only thought was of what will give her the most pleasure.

No stabilizing influences were supplied to counteract the effect on this girl of her broken home.

CASE NO. 9[10]

Mary Waters was turned over to the children's agency by the Department of Health and Charities when she was thirteen years old, and has been under the care of its visitors ever since. She is now eighteen. According to the records, Mary's father shot himself the day she was born. He was a night watchman in an oil works and bore a good reputation. He was said to have been driven to suicide by his wife's conduct. Mary's mother, who was said to have been immoral and never took any

[10] Selected at random.

responsibility for the child, deserted her when she was two months old. The records stated that she died of tuberculosis when Mary was fifteen years old. Mary, when her mother deserted her, was taken by the maternal grandmother. When Mary was three, the grandmother died; and her maternal aunt, Mrs. Green, was appointed guardian and, on the advice of her pastor, placed the child in a church home. The following brief history traces her conduct in the home where she was cared for from the time she was three until she was thirteen years of age:

> She did not get along well with other children; was quarrelsome, dishonest, untruthful, rough in her play and always trying to be annoying to others, quick with her hands, but not thorough at anything—unreliable, disobedient, stubborn. Will take large and small things and money. Self-willed, thinks only of herself and is very selfish. Cares little for reading. A most disturbing element in the house and needs constant supervision.

When Mary was eleven years old, her aunt adopted her; but she was left in the institution. When she was thirteen, however, the home asked to be relieved of her because she was "nervous, stole and could not be managed." She was then committed to the City Department of Health and Charities and was turned over to the children's agency for placement.

She was first put in a very good trial home. After a week the foster-mother reported that Mary was absolutely untrained; seemed to have no idea how to do anything around the house; was unable to "grasp ideas as to the fitness of things"; and although Mary seemed willing and evidently was trying to do right, the foster-mother did not want to undertake the job of trying to train her. She was then placed in another foster-home where the foster-mother, while not a very well-educated woman, was kindly, with common sense. The reports from this home state, however, that Mary was "dirty personally and careless; absolutely untrained, and seemed incapable of grasping directions. She needed constant supervision and was difficult to discipline. Apparently she was very sensitive too." This foster-mother was unwilling to keep her longer than seven months. She was then placed in a home, of which there was no description, as she remained only a week. Her adoptive mother then asked that she be allowed to go home with her. She and her husband kept an oyster house in a very poor neighborhood, but it was felt that the fact of being near relatives might offset the bad neighborhood. She seemed to get along here fairly well, except for occasional fits of sulking and of impudence to her aunt.

She did well in school, and her teachers liked her; but she reached

only the sixth grade, left school promptly when she was sixteen, and secured work in a shoe factory. She turned over to her aunt all her money except 50 cents a week for spending money. According to Mary, her aunt offered her a weekly trip to the movies as her only form of recreation and thought that she should stay in and help all her free time with housework and the care of Mrs. Green's nine grandchildren. Mary also said Mrs. Green told her that she was "crazy" and "going the same way her mother did." Mrs. Green's statement to the worker was that Mary was hard to manage, boy-crazy, and insisted on going to dances. An effort was made to get Mary interested in some of the church activities, but she said she didn't like to go to the church as the girls there were too "stuck up." When Mary was seventeen, she ran away to live with a friend. Mrs. Green did not approve of this home, and she was very angry with Mary and wanted to have her committed to a reformatory. Mary was, after about four months, taken away from this home and placed in one secured by the agency, the home of Mrs. Allen.

The report of her psychological examination at this time is interesting:

Mary was in a resistant frame of mind about this interview. She was brought in on the pretext that she was to have her eyes examined, and was therefore naturally surprised and upset when she found that this was not the real purpose of the interview. Examiner feels that this very definitely spoiled her contact with Mary, since it destroyed her trust in the beginning. She was sullen and almost defiant at first. When a test was suggested on the ground that it might help her make a better vocational adjustment she flatly refused. She said that she had had enough of those things and she was disgusted with the agency, anyway, because there was so much red tape connected with it. Hated having a medical examination. On other grounds, she thinks the agency has done a great deal for her and is grateful, but objects to being looked over repeatedly.

Examiner asked her about the various places she had lived in, and was surprised at the emotional response. She talked very little about the Home, but as soon as she began discussing her aunt, she became wrought up with anger, said that her aunt had told untruths about herself and mother. She cried bitterly over her mother. Does not seem to know whether it is true or not, but says that any girl would resent having such things said about her mother. Examiner suspects that her mother's immorality is what is upsetting her. She says that no matter what her mother did she doesn't have to do the same. She has the feeling that she has told the same story to everyone in the agency and she thinks we are assuming to ask her to repeat it so many times. Examiner assured her that everyone to whom she has repeated it has been wishing to help

her to make a better adjustment, and said she need not continue to discuss it here unless she wished. However, what she really needs is to talk the whole thing out and get rid of some of the emotional reaction she has about it. She was so nervous and upset that she shook all over at times with the tenseness of her body, and cried bitterly. When she went she said she would think it over and perhaps come in and talk her worries out with Examiner, but there does not seem much hope that she will do this. Probably the best that can be done for her is to have the visitor slowly build up a friendly contact which will take in other interests than her relationship to her mother. If she could be given some good times with the visitor this might help to break down the barriers, and she might get the feeling that here was a person who was sufficiently interested for her own sake, but Examiner doubts very much whether this can be done in the artificial conditions of an office interview.

She lived in this home about six months; then because she was unhappy, she was allowed to go to another home of a foster-mother with whom she had become acquainted. She got along fairly well here, although she wanted to be independent and objected to being corrected. After about a year here, when she was nineteen years old, she ran away, married the son of a neighbor, and went to live with his mother. He is a driver receiving $30 a week. Mary said they could not live on that, and she continued working in the Mill.

At the time of the last entry on record, four months after her marriage, Mary had discovered that she was pregnant and was very much worried as she did not like housework and was not "enthusiastic about having a baby."

It is clear that the institutional care which this girl received throughout her childhood left her untrained, with bad habits, and unfitted to take care of herself or to run a home.

GROUP B. CASES IN WHICH THE DIAGNOSIS AND TREATMENT ARE TOO VAGUE TO PERMIT OF APPRAISAL OF THE AGENCY'S SERVICES

Case No. 10[11]

Ruth Simpson, 19 years of age, was referred May 18, 1922, to the girls' agency by the Young Women's Christian Association as she was having an unhappy love affair with a man twice her age. The record stated that Ruth was a very attractive-looking girl, who seemed quite intelligent. For the past two years she had been a sales-girl at $10 weekly, and was recently raised to $12. She knew practically nothing about her moth-

[11] Selected at random.

er, who died when she was a baby. Her father, who is a paralytic, mentally disturbed, lives in a neighboring seaside resort. Until three months before coming to the agency, Ruth had lived with different relatives, who were all Roman Catholics while she was Lutheran. About six months before, she had met Thomas Kane, thirty-eight years old, a divorced man. After a brief acquaintance he promised to marry her on a certain date, but kept putting her off. Sometimes she spent the night with him at his home. There had never been anyone before who had really loved her, and she had counted greatly on having a home of her own, a thing she wanted more than anything else. In her disappointment she said that if she had the money she would go West. Worker suggested to Ruth that instead of going West, if the doctor thought advisable, she might go away for convalescent care. She was therefore examined, and the doctor advised placing her in the country where she would be away from Mr. Kane and where she would not be allowed to talk constantly about herself and her troubles. She refused to go, however, and two days later wrote a letter to Mr. Kane, which reveals graphically the nature of her relation to him and the effect that her fears and her emotional state had upon her health:

TOMMY:

I believed in you, I thought you were a man. I asked you hundreds of times if you were mine and you would say yes nearly always. I tried to be good for you but you would say you would go out with other women if I didn't love you your way. I waited for you because you wanted me to, you never objected. I never blamed you for anything but for making me sick because I loved you only as a woman can love a man. I wanted to cook, serve and help make you happy. I believed everything you promised me. Do you remember how happy we were together when we planned to have a home west. You told me you would always be good to me as long as I was a good girl. I was, I never once told you a lie or deceived you. I only loved you. I didn't tell any lies, Tommy, I didn't. I couldn't help if I fainted and looked sick. I suppose I just couldn't hide it if I wanted to. Nearly six months have passed and instead of helping me you are casting me aside when you know I am helpless. I hope someday Tommy if you are sorry you will tell me for I have been hurt so much it can never be healed.

RUTH

The effect of this attachment upon her health is indicated by the following report of the neurological examination:

Weakness of all muscles, coarse tremor, and dilated pupils, but no evidence of any organic disease. Mentally, she is depressed, feels that she cannot live without Mr. Kane, whom she loves more than anything else in the world.

In the next sentence, however, she expressed a desire to go West, to live in the country, and to start everything over again.

In view of her attitude of indecision and her almost frenzied attachment to the man, there seem to be only two alternatives: either for them to be married, which in view of their quarrels would hardly seem likely to be a success, or for one or the other to go away entirely disregarding the existence of the other. We do not feel that we can do more for her at the present time than to urge strongly an immediate breaking off and that she go to a convalescent home for a period of rest. However, this will call for co-operation on her part and his; if this is lacking there is nothing more to be done apparently.

Ruth was persuaded to go to a convalescent home. The superintendent telephoned after she had been there an hour that she had been crying steadily and wanted to leave. Two days later she came into the office with Thomas Kane. He went with her to see a psychiatrist, suggested by the worker, who told him that he should either leave Ruth entirely alone or marry her. A month later he married her, gave up his position, and they went West.

In this case a neurological examination was given and the psychiatrist's advice to the man was probably influential in bringing about the marriage. Nothing was, however, done to develop other interests for the girl.

CASE NO. 11[12]

Pauline Carter, aged fourteen, was referred to the girls' agency by her family physician in a medium-sized Pennsylvania city. She had worked after school hours, taking care of a child, and became pregnant by the nineteen-year-old stepson of her employer. The Philadelphia girls' agency placed her in a home, where her baby was born. Her mother is a widow, who wanted the baby placed so that the people in their home town would know nothing about the child's birth. She did not want any action taken against the father, as she said he was just a "no-good" boy. The agency helped to get the baby adopted by a railroad conductor and his wife who had no children. This seemed a good home, although no thorough investigation was made. Pauline gave up her baby unwillingly. She is now at home with her mother and back in high school. Her mother writes that she seems to be getting along very well, although at times she seems homesick for the baby.

The service rendered here consisted of sending the girl to an institution for the birth of her child, and subsequently placing the child for adoption without any thorough knowledge of the situation.

[12] Selected at random.

GROUP C. SOME EXAMPLES OF THE USE OF INSTITUTIONAL CARE

Case No. 12[13]

Esther Rosenblum, aged sixteen, was referred to the girls' agency while in the State Training School for Girls. It was hoped that if the agency's workers became acquainted with Esther while she was in the school, they would be able to help her make better adjustments when she left, and that they might also be able to improve conditions in her home before she returned to it. She had originally been referred by her mother to the court for incorrigibility. This consisted of refusing to work and keeping late hours. Besides Esther, there were in the family a son, aged eighteen, six children attending school, and two younger children—one three years and one six months old—at home. The father, a tailor, was having pecuniary troubles. The mother did not seem intelligent, was worn out physically, and the home and children were dirty.

Esther had left school at thirteen, and in the sixth grade, to go to work. She had told the probation officer that she could not get along with her father who constantly quarreled with her and called her "bad names." She refused to work, as she never got anything out of it. She had to give all her earnings to her father, who did not give her even clothes or spending money. She had been going with a very bad girl who was formerly on probation. Neither her probation officer nor her parents had been able to get Esther to work, and she finally told the probation officer that she wanted to be "put away" and that if she were not taken to the court immediately, she would pick up a man on the street and be arrested. The probation officer then took her to court and she was committed to the girls' training school. The report of the court psychiatrist states:

> The girl is entirely self-willed, follows her instincts, has no conception of obedience or of any discipline. From her make-up it is not at all probable that she will improve outside of strict institutional care. Her best chance would seem to be a period of such discipline as she would get at the girls' reformatory.

Esther behaved well in the training school. Her father was constantly writing, asking for her discharge, as he said he could not support his family without her help, but Esther did not want to go home. She gave no trouble until she was paroled and placed at day work with a nearby family. She then attempted to run away but was caught and was returned to the institution, in the demoted division. She told the girls' worker that

[13] Selected by agency.

she did not want to return to her home but would rather be placed with a family and be given an opportunity to go to school. However, when Esther's mother became ill, her father insisted that she come home to help with the support of the family. She was brought into court and discharged. The judge did not allow the training school representative to make any statement, and her mother later told the worker of the girls' agency that she did not want Esther to be discharged but that her husband insisted upon it and had given money to politicians to have her released. A little over a month later, Esther came to the parole officer in the railroad station and asked to be taken back to the training school. She complained bitterly about conditions in her home and said she knew she would get into trouble if she stayed there. She was taken to the court, where she told the judge the same story. The superintendent of the training school decided that it would be better to place Esther in a private family instead of returning her to the institution. A home was secured for Esther where she would help with the housework and go to night school. In less than a week her mother went for her and took her to the court, and she was allowed by the probation officer in charge to go home. Soon afterward she disappeared. For a year the girls' agency kept in touch with Esther's family, who at first claimed they did not know where she was but later said that they had heard she had joined a vaudeville company, and on another occasion that she was in California.

Lack of co-operation on the part of Juvenile Court officials (alleged to be due to political influence) made it impossible to carry out such plans as were made and the good effects of correctional training were probably nullified.

CASE NO. 13[14]

Agnes Bryan's mother was an actress, with a reputation that was none too savory. When Agnes was four years old, the mother deserted her and Agnes' father, whose record as a worker was good in spite of a long history of drunkenness. At first he tried living with various friends and relatives. This proved unsatisfactory because Agnes was a very difficult child to manage, and apparently no one had much patience with her. When she was six years old, he placed her in an institution. She was not kept here long, as she gave a great deal of trouble and was a very disturbing influence on the other children. Her father tried boarding her again for about three years, when he once more applied for institutional care.

Agnes apparently made trouble as soon as she was admitted to the in-

[14] Selected at random.

stitution. There were continued requests from the superintendent that she be removed. Complaints regarding her stubbornness, lying, stealing, and profane language were numerous; and she was finally removed and placed by a children's agency in a family home, where she remained six months. The brief description of this home includes the fact that there were no other children and that the foster-mother seemed "kind and sympathetic." At the end of that time Agnes was sent to a hospital for an operation for goitre. Here it was found that she had enlargement of the heart, and she was kept under observation for three months. When she was dicharged, "careful supervision in a country home" was advised.

This was tried, and for a time Agnes did well. She apparently got a great deal of attention, and the caretaker seems to have made a sincere effort to understand and control the child. After about five months she began to show the same tendencies as in her earlier childhood. When corrected, she flew into violent rages and had frequent fainting attacks. At such times she frothed at the mouth and, when asleep, had frequent nightmares. Her record for the next two years is one succession of placements with five different hospitalizations—one for influenza, one for an operation for tonsils and adenoids, two for heart condition, and one for appendicitis. A mental examination recorded: "Agnes is not feeble-minded. She shows a hysterical reaction which will make it difficult for her to get on with people." She was sent to a convalescent home after her operation for appendicitis; and because of her bad behavior there (nothing specific is stated), she was sent to an institution for delinquent girls, from which, after nine months, she was discharged. The superintendent stated that she was one of the boldest, most unmanageable girls she had ever had to deal with. She frequently became enraged, kicked and bit, screamed at the top of her lungs, and then, when punished, would have one of her hysterical fainting attacks.

Three months after her discharge, her readmission to this institution was requested. This was refused because of her bad record there. Another trial was made in a family home. This proved unsuccessful, and two others were tried. Finally, she was brought into court and committed to a correctional institution, with a special request from the judge that she be kept there for three years. During the early part of her training here she was very troublesome. At times she became so unmanageable, throwing things around and calling everyone names, that she had to be returned to the demoted division again and again. Gradually, however, her behavior began to improve. Her "temper tantrums" occurred less frequently. She

became interested in the work of the institution and at one time was given charge of the weaving class. When she was discharged at the age of twenty-one, she found that she had inherited about $500 from her father who had died. She took this money and went West. A letter from Agnes to one of the institution workers states that she is now a matron in a school for boys in a far western state.

This girl was constantly changed between foster-homes and children's institutions without being benefited until she was committed to a correctional institution for a sufficiently long period to obtain some result from the training and supervision provided.

CASE NO. 14[15]

Josephine Chambers, at the age of nineteen years, was referred to the girls' agency by the Young Women's Christian Association. Josephine's father and mother left her when she was about five years old, with her brother and sister who were about her own age, in an orphanage in a southern state. Her mother died of tuberculosis when Josephine was eight years old; the father died in an almshouse when she was thirteen. Her brother died in the orphanage, and she has lost contact with her sister. She was taken from the orphanage by a couple with whom she lived for five years until they separated; she thinks she was legally adopted by them. When their home was broken up, she was returned to the orphanage. The foster-father came and took her out of the orphanage when she was thirteen. According to Josephine's account, he abused her; and when she was fifteen, he married again and turned Josephine over to some friends of his.

They soon reported her to a girls' agency in a neighboring city, where she was placed in a protective home. Miss Jones, a worker of this institution, when she returned to her own home in Philadelphia, took Josephine, who was then about eighteen, with her. For six months she did the housework for the Jones family, but then left to work for a family across the street. It was said that she insisted on going with the worst girls in the neighborhood and on keeping late hours, until her employer was forced to discharge her. She secured another position at housework, which she finally lost because she insisted upon "keeping company" with a man whom the family did not like. The dates are not given, but about a year after coming to Philadelphia she went to the Young Women's Christian Association for work. They secured a position for her in a school lunchroom

[15] Selected by the agency.

at $12 a week and lunches. The first night at the Young Women's Christian Association she had as a roommate, a girl described as a "runaway girl of the worst sort." The girls disappeared the next day and were found about a week later in a rooming-house. When Josephine refused to go to a boarding home which the girls' agency's worker suggested, and the girls continued to live together, keeping late hours and entertaining men, Josephine was taken to the Misdemeanants' Court and was committed to the Midnight Mission. She ran away from the Midnight Mission but was returned. The worker of the girls' agency, who was supervising her there, reported that she was an "attractive Southern girl whom people like. She is affectionate and easily led. She is mature in some ways and undeveloped in others."

After she had been at the Midnight Mission about three months, it was discovered that she was pregnant; and she was transferred to an excellent maternity home. The Midnight Mission worker reported that Josephine worked very hard but resented supervision. They had sent her to a hospital; and while she was there, she had stolen $5.00 from a woman in the bed next to hers. Josephine's baby boy was born nine months from the day after she ran away from the Young Women's Christian Association. Although Josephine admitted that she had resented the idea of the baby and had tried to secure an abortion, she immediately became devoted to the baby. Usually she was courteous; and as a member of an institution family at the maternity home, she was very pleasant to have around, although occasionally she was ill-mannered and careless in her work. It was reported that she sewed fairly well and was a good, average waitress. She became, however, increasingly difficult. The worker from the girls' agency had tried to get her a position in a home for infants, but the superintendent would not take her.

When the baby was about two and a half months old, Josephine was given a mental examination. Her chronological age at that time was twenty years. The report of the psychiatrist stated:

A Psychometric measurement of the Binet-Simon Test showed a mental age of 9 years, with an I.Q. of 56.2. She seemed to show more ability in the performance tests and enjoyed these. She expressed herself as very proud of her baby, and willing to undertake any suggested measures which would bring about an improvement in her situation and ability to care for him. She admits, however, that she is becoming restless, and would like to live in the city. She likes housework, sewing and table waiting. We feel that with a mental deficiency of this degree, it would be impossible for her to learn to do much more than

table waiting, and that she will require constant supervision both for herself and her method of caring for the baby.

A month later Josephine was committed to the Philadelphia Department of Public Welfare to be transferred to the Pennsylvania State Institution for the Feeble-Minded. It was eleven months before she could be committed, and during this time she was kept by the Department of Public Welfare at the maternity home with her baby. The girls' agency also kept in touch with her while she was there. They took her occasionally to the movies, but they assumed no responsibility for her support, as is indicated by this letter to the institution:

> We have your letter in re the repairs to Josephine's glasses. We are perfectly willing to send money to Josephine from time to time, and take her out occasionally, but we do feel that as long as she is under the Department of Public Welfare, things of this nature should be charged to them.

When her baby was one year and three months old, Josephine was sent to the State Institution for the Feeble-Minded. She was heartbroken to be separated from her baby. Six months later the baby, which had been placed, contracted scarlet fever and died in the Municipal Hospital. When she received the news of the baby's death, Josephine wrote that she had absolutely no reason to go on living.

It is clear that while this girl of low grade mentality, I.Q. 56.2, might not have been able to make satisfactory adjustments outside of an institution, this was not discovered until after the birth of her illegitimate child, and after considerable planless energy had been spent on her. She steadily deteriorated while under the care of the agency.

Case No. 15[16]

Grace Draper, when she was four years old, was turned over to a children's protective society. Her mother had gone off with another man, taking Grace's sister, Beulah, aged five, and leaving Grace and her brother Henry, aged six, with their father who drank. As a huckster, he would not work regularly. At this time a complaint was made to a children's agency, whose worker went to a magistrate to see if the father and mother could be arrested. The magistrate said there was not enough evidence of neglect, that it was a case of a family quarrel, and that it could not be proved that the mother was "living immorally."

A few months after the mother left, the father also abandoned the children; and they were picked up wandering the streets, taken to the po-

[16] Selected by agency.

lice station, and turned over to the children's agency. Both parents had a number of relatives, all of whom refused to take the children, on the ground that the father and mother should be forced to support them. The father reappeared and agreed to pay $1.00 a week apiece for the support of Henry and Grace, who were to live with his wife's sister, Mrs. Brown. The children's mother had been seen in the Tenderloin District with Beulah, but her address could not be learned. The Browns had some trouble managing Henry, and he was returned to the agency. A few months later, although they were fond of Grace and said she gave them no trouble, they decided they would not continue keeping her either, as her father told them he was living with another woman and would not pay toward Grace's support.

While the early record is very vague, it seems that between the ages of four and eight, Grace had been in at least five different homes and one institution. When she was six, her mother had reappeared, saying that she and the father were again living together, and asking for the return of the children. The society said that they must first prove that they would do better. A few months later the mother again disappeared, taking Beulah with her, as always. Off and on the whereabouts of the father seem to have been known. On one occasion he was taken into court, and an order of $1.87 apiece for the support of Grace and Henry was made on him; and they were committed to the Department of Health and Charities when Grace was eight. He did not, however, continue paying the allowance ordered.

In the home of Mrs. Anderson, with whom she was then living, Grace got along well. Mrs. Anderson was very fond of her and took great interest in her clothes, dressing her very much like her own little girl. However, as her board here was $1.50 a week, it was thought desirable to place her in a free home with the idea of adoption. The testimony of workers was unanimous, up to this point, that she was an attractive and lovable child. She was tried in another home for a few months, but was returned to Mrs. Anderson, where she remained for four months. She was then placed in a free home with Mr. and Mrs. Baker. At this time she was nine years old. She remained in this home until she was fifteen, when she ran away to Mrs. Anderson's. She told the agency's worker that she had never liked it at the Bakers', but hadn't complained because she didn't want to cause "a disturbance." She said that she was knocked about a good bit, especially after she was old enough to work. She showed bruises on her shins which she said were caused by kicks of Mrs. Baker. She said

that she could stand it there no longer and so had run away. The Bakers reported that she had not given them trouble until within the last few weeks. As illustrations of her bad behavior, they said she had harnessed up a new horse that they had, and had driven it without permission from anyone; that she had stolen a box of candy from a store, addressed it to herself, and mailed it. She explained that she had done this because she was so anxious to receive a present through the mail.

When Grace was about thirteen, her brother Henry died. The records do not indicate that they had seen much of each other; but they had corresponded, and there is a notation that once at Christmas Grace had sent him a necktie.

All reports indicated that Grace was a conscientious worker. She had been sent to country schools but had stayed out often on account of bad weather. Mrs. Baker stated that the teachers were poor and took little interest in children. She said that their pastor was teaching at one time and that he had very poor discipline. His church hoped in another year to be able to add $100 to his salary so that it wouldn't be necessary for him to teach.

After Grace ran away from the Bakers' home, she was given a psychological examination. Her age is given at this time as fifteen years, two months—mental age seven years, eight months. I.Q. 50.6. The psychologist concluded that she fell well within the feeble-minded group, but she seemed to show a certain amount of practical ability which might make her a better worker than her general intelligence indicated. She made a score of eleven and a half years mental age in the Porteus Mazes, which spoke well for her persistency and caution. The report goes on to say:

> The question as to whether she should be examined for commitment depends upon how possible it is for her to remain in the outside world without getting into serious trouble. It is barely possible that she could maintain herself happily and usefully as a worker in a family where her deficiencies were clearly understood and the proper outlet and supervision provided. The stealing indicates that the girl has not been happy, and that she craves satisfaction which she has not had. She is the kind of child who would be happy in an institution and would be an excellent institution inmate.

Efforts were made to secure admission of Grace to an institution for the feeble-minded. The physician in charge replied:

> I would say that if she is at all difficult to manage it would be impossible for us to admit her, as our methods of discipline are so very mild.

The mild nature of Grace's conduct difficulties were explained to the

institution authorities, but they replied that they could not admit her, as with a depleted staff they had "no facilities for caring for these moral delinquents." She was then examined for commitment to another state institution. The court doctors reported that they did not consider her suitable for commitment, and they advised trying her out under very close supervision in a new home and watching developments. While she was in one of the Department of Health and Charities' special homes, her caretaker noticed her resemblance to a neighbor. When he proved to be her father's brother, she went to his home to live. (Records state that her father had died when Grace was about fourteen years old.) About this time she was discovered by her mother, who wanted her to live with her. She was delighted at finding her mother. Grace was sixteen years old when they were reunited. She worked in spice and candy factories and turned over her money to her mother, who returned one dollar a week. One employer stated that he had seen her mother snatch her pay envelope out of her hand before she had scarcely touched it. (At about the time Grace came home to live, her sister, Beulah, was married and moved away. Beulah had always lived with her mother. They got along well together, and there is no record of any difficulties on her part, although the records regarding her are very vague.) Grace said that she soon came to realize that her mother cared nothing for her, and after a year and a half she ran away. She was then placed in another home, in which her conduct was unsatisfactory as she kept late hours and stayed out at night. When she was eighteen and a half years old she was given another mental examination, the report of which stated:

> Mental age nine years. I.Q. 56. This girl is a mental defective of Moron grade. She is able to be self-supporting, but needs the supervision of an older person, who will be firm with her. If this supervision is not given, she may easily get into trouble, as she is extremely suggestible.

About four months later she ran away and could not be located for three weeks. A friend of hers said that during that time Grace had been evicted from a moving-picture house in the neighborhood for immoral conduct with a married man, and that she had lived for three nights in a bootblack shop with a colored man, sleeping on a pile of newspapers behind the counter.

When Grace was brought into court, she was turned over to the care of the girls' agency. She was allowed to return to a job she then had with an ice-cream company, but a week later she left the house where she was boarding and disappeared. She was located about four months later; but

as she had a good position taking care of a child, she was allowed to remain. About two months later she disappeared, wearing her employer's clothes. When she was located, she said she left because the husband of her employer tried to assault her. The girls' agency's worker recommended that she be sent to the State Training School for Girls. She was committed there and remained over two years.

The report of the psychologist at the institution stated: "She is voluble, egotistic, suspicious, evasive, but easily diverted and rather co-operative with examiner. Attention unstable." At first it was very difficult for Grace to adjust herself at the institution. She was described by her matron as being "unclean, inclined to be scrappy, whining and complaining all the time." She made slow, but steady, improvement during her stay in the institution. When she was paroled at the age of twenty, the superintendent stated that she had never seen greater improvement in any girl.

Upon her parole she was, at first, placed at housework in a small town in Pennsylvania. The worker of the girls' agency had kept in close personal touch with her while she was in the training school, and corresponded regularly wtih her after her parole. When she changed to another place in domestic service nearer Philadelphia, it was possible for the worker to keep more closely in touch with her. During the subsequent period when Grace decided to try unskilled factory work and to live in not altogether desirable boarding-houses, she continued to come to the worker for advice, although she did not always take suggestions. However, stabilizing friendly relations were constantly maintained until the following year, when Grace was married. Excerpts from a letter written by the girls' worker to the superintendent of the State Training School for Girls, August 1, 1927, describes the situation at that time:

> Grace Draper was married about two months ago to Robert Egan. He is 31 years old, a truck driver earning $38 a week. Grace tells me that he has no bad habits and is very good to her. They have a radio, victrola, money in the bank and expect to buy a car. I should say that their chance for future happiness is as good as the average. I've promised to have dinner with them some night, for I do not want to lose touch with her. When I asked her if her husband knew that she had been in the State Training School, she replied, "Oh, yes. He says that I'm such a good housekeeper that he thinks a fellow is pretty lucky to get a wife who has been out there."

In this case, the needs of the child were carefully studied. She was given correctional training over a period of years and a close friendly re-

lationship is still maintained with her. In spite of low-grade mentality, I.Q. 56, she seems to be making satisfactory adjustments.

GROUP D. NEEDS UNDERSTOOD, COMPENSATING AFFECTION PROVIDED, AND GIRL'S CO-OPERATION SECURED

CASE NO. 16[17]

Annie Emory, a fifteen-year-old girl who had already been twice in the Juvenile Court, was referred by the court to the girls' agency. According to the court record, she admitted having immoral relations with several men. The record stated that during the week of June 3, 1922, she had gone to hotels for immoral purposes on three occasions with three different sailors. The report of the court psychiatrist stated: "Girl has fair mental ability and is capable of advancement in school work. She is undisciplined, untrained and immoral. Apparently beyond the control of her present home. Recommend a period of training in a disciplinary school." Nevertheless, Annie had been placed each time on probation. On her third appearance at court, the probation officer recommended her commitment to the State Training School for Girls, but she was discharged from probation and the judge asked the girls' agency to see what they "could do with her."

Annie's father and mother were alive, but their home appeared exceedingly dirty and disreputable. Annie, herself, lived with her grandmother, eighty-two years old, who also had a very dirty home. She stayed out at night as much as she wished, and no one was capable of supervising her. She was devoted to her grandmother and would not consider a private placement away from her. Therefore, the agency asked the judge to commit her to the Girls' Training School for a period of training and discipline. Without bringing her into court again, the judge ordered her sent to a private reformatory institution for girls. While there, a volunteer worker from the girls' agency visited her and found that in this institution there was provided no recreation, education, or special training, and that Annie was expected to spend her time in housework and reading the Bible.

After three months here Annie ran away, at three o'clock in the morning. She was, however, found and placed in the house of detention. It was then arranged that temporarily she would live there and go to work in a nearby laundry. After six weeks she again ran away, and was found only after a month had elapsed.

[17] Selected by agency.

Her own statement of her experience at this time, told to the detective who apprehended her, is very revealing of the casual attitude a girl may have toward the most sordid experiences. It is of special interest when compared with the letter written later.

Before Julia left the House of Detention she gave me a 'phone number across the street from her home and told me to come down some time. The day I left (June 9, 1923) I called Julia on the 'phone. She told me she was going to Elkton, Md., to be married that afternoon. Then she said, "Come down and I will tell you all about it." I went down in the evening. She said to me, "Annie, I can't stand it, my parents are too strict. I am going away. Will you go with me?" I said, "No, I am afraid." She said to me, "Annie, they won't catch you." She told me to wait for her at 7th and Catherine Sts. While I was waiting, there was a fellow across the way. He walked to the corner, then back to the candy store and stood on the step. When Julia came she said, "Shall I call him?" I said not, but she called him anyhow. Julia called him Harry. Harry got a room at the First Street Hotel. He registered and said that he was from New York. All three of us slept in one bed. Harry had intercourse with Julia. The next morning Julia and I went down to the Boulevard. Harry left us there. He told us to meet him at three o'clock. He took us for a ride until six o'clock, then Harry had to leave us. The machine belonged to a cop. He drove the machine at six o'clock. Julia and I got out of the machine at Broad and Federal. The cop had to go on duty. Harry went off with him and said he would be back in a couple of minutes, that we should wait for him. We waited and two other fellows came back with the machine. They said Harry said he could not come back, he would be late, he was going to play for a wedding. The two fellows in the machine said they would meet us at eight o'clock at 4th and Washington Ave. Before eight o'clock two fellows came along in a machine. They took us to the ball game. One was John Mays and the other was Tony Tracy, whose brother is a detective. After the ball game they took us to Tony's house. We danced. They didn't do anything wrong to either of us. Tony took us in the machine to 4th and Washington Ave. We told them we were going to meet Harry. Just as we got there the two fellows came in the machine. They rode us around. They did not say or do anything wrong to us.

About 12, midnight, we stopped and waited for Harry. While we were waiting Jim came along. Julia knew him. He asked Julia who she was waiting for and she said Harry. Jim said, "I just came from where he is." We got out of the machine. The fellows said they would have to take the machine back. Jim waited on the corner with us. Harry came along with his banjo. He went home and left his banjo. He came back and said, "It is too late to get a room." He took us to a tailor shop on 8th Avenue. Harry had a key and opened the door. We laid on the tables. Harry and Julia laid on one table. Jim and I laid on a table. Jim had intercourse with me. On Monday, June 11th, Jim left for

work. We left the shop about 11 o'clock. Harry went home. Julia and I went to the Square. We met Susan Lewes. We could not get rid of her. One time she was in the House of Detention. About 2:30 Harry and Jim came along. They called another fellow and he went away with Susan. Harry and Jim gave us money to go to a show. They left us. We went to meet them at 8 p.m. They met us and took us to a wedding at a private house. After the wedding we went to the home of a friend of Harry's. We stayed all night. Four of us slept in one bed. Jim had intercourse with me. The next morning we went to the Square. Jim and Harry went for their machine and said they would take us to the shore. Harry's friend was with us. After waiting a long time, a musician came along and said they were to meet at 7th and Catherine Streets. We went there and didn't see them. Then we walked to 7th and South Street. Harry and Jim came along in their machine. Jim told us to wait for them on another street. We waited one hour and they didn't show up. We left the fellow who waited with us. We walked around. Julia met a lady who knew her. She told Julia to go home. Julia said no and walked away. Julia tried to hock her ring at a pawn shop. She was only offered $2 and she wouldn't take it. When we walked out of the hock shop two fellows came up to us. They asked where we were going. She said, "We are going to get a room." They said, "We will get a room for you." Julia said, "Will you? I will give you my ring to hock." They took the ring. They took us to Green Street near 13th and Ridge Avenue. All four went in the room. One fellow went out to hock the ring. He got $1.50. We were all in one room. They said they were boxers and gave their names Mike and Joe. Mike had intercourse with me. On Wednesday night (June 13th), we left them. We called Jim and Harry up at the cigar store where they hang out. Jim and Harry's brother and the driver asked Julia if they could have intercourse and she said no. I don't blame them for asking, she told them about Morris. About 12 o'clock we got out of the machine. She told Jim to get Charlie Natalie for her. He had a garage. We went to the garage, and stayed all night. Jim had intercourse with me. On Thursday, June 14th, Jim took us for a ride. Took that machine back and took the cop's machine, a Pierce Arrow. We went after another girl. This girl, Julia, Jim, the cop, the man who rents the bungalow, Fred Smith, Charlie and myself went to National Park. Fred Smith showed the cop the place. Jim and Harry took him back to the city. Then Jim and Charlie came back. The other girl went home on the trolley car. Jim and Charlie stayed all night. Jim had intercourse that night with me. Charlie slept with Julia. Julia and I stayed at the bungalow. No one had intercourse with me except Jim. Jim came every night. Charlie came nearly every night. One night Julia called Harry on the 'phone from the Park. He was at the cigar store. Jim objected, said she should not have called Harry when she was having Charlie. Joe, the cop, heard the conversation. Told Jim to go down to the Park. Jim and two fellows came down on a truck. Harry

came a little later with another fellow. Harry asked Julia what did she want. He stayed too late to go back. He stayed with Julia. The fellow that came with Harry, I think his name was Frank, went to Julia's bed also. Jim was with me. Jim and Charlie had a quarrel with Harry. That is why they did not want Julia to call him. I guess that was about June 18th or 19th. They brought Julia to the city. I was told by Jim they gave Julia $2 for a room. They said they did not want to see her walk the streets. I asked her where she was going. She said she was going to work for Morris. She told me before he had girls working for him. I stayed on. Jim came every night. Yesterday (July 10th) a detective came for me. He told me Julia told I was staying in National Park.

When Annie was brought into court after this experience, she was committed by the judge, on the recommendation of the agency interested, to the girls' training school. For two years Annie was given the discipline and training she needed. The volunteer kept in close touch with her during these two years in the institution, so that when the time came for her discharge she would be ready to help her in making her community adjustments.

During an absence in the South, the volunteer received the following letter from Annie which indicates the relationship which had been established between them:

DEAR MRS SLAYTON:

I am so sorry you were disappointed in not getting a letter from me, but while you were waiting for a letter from me, I was waiting for a letter from you because I didn't know where to write. I have some very good news to tell you and I know you will be glad to know it. I had a nice time on Xmas and I also received many presents. I had so many presents. I certainly was surprised when I received them, because I didn't think I would receive any. My Grandmother was very glad to have me home, she said I was her only Xmas present that she wanted.[18] But she did receive more than me, and she wants me to thank you for the things you sent her. They had just arrived when I stepped in the door, and my brother also thanks you for the present you sent him, but most of all I want to thank you for letting me go home. It was the happiest Xmas I spent for three years. The reason I enjoyed it so much was because the whole family was together this year. I went to see my Aunt and she said she is still waiting for you to come to see her some day and I hope you will go to see her as soon as you can.

Well, I think I will tell you the very good news now as I guess you will be curious to know. I am *Mayor* of our cottage and I know you will be very proud of me and I am going to try my very best. This will make my 3d term on

[18] Annie was allowed to go home for the holidays.

council and I have reached the point I was working for. I have so many things to tell you about myself. I am in the bird club, the star club, the Y.W.C.A., on council and I am also in the typewriting class. I am taking up typewriting. The Superintendent has the check that you sent her. I didn't see her, but they marked it on my envelope that she had the check.

I am very glad you had a nice Xmas and I hope Mr. Slayton had a nice Xmas too and I do hope that you will have a nice time all the time you are there.

I guess I have told you everything. I will tell you how I am getting along as Mayor the next time I hear from you. I will close my letter hoping to hear from you real soon. I remain your Little Sister,

ANNIE

P.S. The first thing I thought of when I became Mayor was, I wonder what Mrs. Slayton will think. I didn't answer your letter the first day I received it. I waited to see what would happen when we had elections.

It is hard to realize that the writer of this letter is the same Annie whose sordid experiences have been related above.

When Annie was ready to be discharged, Mrs. Slayton arranged for her a very good position to learn the trade in her own dressmaker's establishment, but Annie wasn't interested in sewing. Mrs. Slayton then signified her willingness to send Annie through business college, but the psychologist didn't think that she had sufficient training to profit by a business course. When she was paroled at the beginning of the summer, a position was secured for her as assistant counselor in a girls' fresh-air camp. Annie's record was known to those in charge, and a definite but unobtrusive supervision was exercised over her. The money was given by Mrs. Slayton to the camp in order to create this particular position. At the end of the summer Annie took an examination for a position as telephone operator; but as her hours, at least in the beginning, would have kept her out until after eleven at night, Mrs. Slayton persuaded her not to take it and helped her secure a place as a waitress in a high-grade tea room frequented mainly by women. Her hours were 11:30 A.M. to 5:00 P.M. She received $14.00 a week salary and tips which amounted to as much as $1.50 a day. She liked her work and seemed happy and contented. About three months later she left this position to marry a boy with whom she had gone to school. He was an assistant candy-maker and seemed to be a reliable young man.

Mrs. Slayton advised Annie in the selection of furniture when she was establishing her home, and has kept in touch with her since. About

a year and a half after Annie's marriage there appeared in *The Village Chatter,* the paper edited by the girls at the state training school where Annie had been, the following social item: "Annie May Davis, four month old daughter of Annie E. Davis, is the joy of her father and mother. Annie and little Annie were here to see us this week."[19]

In this case, the psychiatrist's recommendation was followed, and a close friendly relationship was established, which still exists after the girl's marriage.

CASE NO. 17[20]

Gladys Stowell, aged fourteen, was referred by a sewing teacher to the children's agency. She had done poor work in the seventh grade and had been transferred to the trade school. Her father died when she was a baby; and her mother, who since then has run a small shoe store, has had a hard time to get along. Two older children, a boy and a girl, have been very helpful; and they all agreed that Gladys was "no good." They nagged her continually, but she had learned to get her own way by making a scene. She was very slovenly and careless about her personal appearance. The medical examination brought to light no definite health problem. The psychologist suggested there might be some sex repression. Her recreation consisted of visiting neighbors or spending her evenings in her mother's store reading. She did not graduate from the trade school but was allowed to take part in the graduation exercises with the understanding that the diploma would be given later if she made up the work. The teachers were persuaded by the social worker to make this arrangement, as it was feared that Gladys' failure would have a very bad effect on her. The psychologist suggested that if she could get work in which she could do well, it would help remove the feeling of inferiority which her family had given her. A position was secured for her in the millinery department of a large store. She liked her work very much, was never laid off, her relations with her family became friendly, and there was a complete change in her behavior and habits.

This girl's needs were understood and met.

CASE NO. 18[21]

Thelma Henry, aged eleven, was referred to a children's agency by the Juvenile Court. Her mother had gone to the court because Thelma

[19] A little over a year later when a second daughter was born, she was named for Mrs. Slayton.

[20] Selected at random. [21] Selected by agency.

was disobedient. Neither the mother nor the stepfather could control her. The mother, who was neurotic, had been, as a child, placed in foster-families by a New York child-placing agency, and had been finally adopted. She had married Thelma's father when three months pregnant, and lived with him only a few weeks. Thelma had been with foster-grandparents until their death when she was about seven. She was then placed in a foster-home until her mother got a divorce and married her present husband, about six months before coming to the court. Thelma did not like her stepfather or her stepsister, who was four years younger than she. The court psychologist's report stated:

> Thelma is above normal for her age, is entirely undisciplined, refuses the slightest conformity to rules or laws, is determined to have her own way at all costs. She has never been taught obedience or consideration of others. She seems, however, quite capable of developing into a normal person if properly treated. She should be taken from the inefficient care of her mother and placed in some school where she will get the teaching and strict discipline she needs.

The report of the agency psychologist states "Stanford Revision of the Binet test—the child's age is 11 years, 10 months; mental age 14 years, 4 months. Basal year 12. Upper limit 16. I.Q. 128.2. Frank, intelligent child of unusual ability and rare beauty." She was tried in four homes before a satisfactory adjustment was made. She has been in her present home for over two years. She visits her mother, but there is still friction between her and her family. She is very fond of her foster-parents. She is encouraged to bring her friends to their home, has joined the church, and has plenty of recreation, skating, and dancing. She is doing well in school and hopes to go to high school and college.

A foster-home carefully selected for this girl provided the understanding and training needed.

Case No. 19[22]

Lizzie Stanley was born February 4, 1906. The following excerpts from the children's agency's own summary present the main points in the record of its early contact with the child:

> December 1st, 1920, Mrs. Jessup, Lizzie's aunt on the mother's side, applied for the fourth time to us to place Lizzie. She first applied June 25th, 1917, and twice later. Each time she made the same complaint, that she could not manage her, but each time changed her mind and decided to give her another chance. At the time of these previous applications, Lizzie was getting along

[22] Selected at random.

satisfactorily in school. She was promoted regularly and there was no question of her conduct. At this present time, Lizzie has not only been difficult at home, but she has been sent home from school three times, and has not been promoted since she entered the 6B grade about two years ago. At home she is disobedient and uninterested. She does not remember anything she is told to do. When sent on an errand she invariably brings back the wrong article. Lizzie's father died of cancer when she was six. Her mother had worn herself out nursing him during his long illness and went insane immediately after his death. Was diagnosed as manic-depressive insanity and died February 21st, 1918. Lizzie has been brought up by her mother's sister, Mrs. Jessup, since her father died. Mrs. Jessup is fond of Lizzie, but she is a nervous, sickly woman who goes to bed ill whenever there is any trouble with the child.

For a number of years her aunt worked and Lizzie ran the streets. The aunt has now given up her work, however, and they are living in a comfortably furnished apartment with another aunt, Mrs. Bradley. Lizzie is allowed to play only with her cousins, girls about her own age. She gets along well with them, but does not have much interest in them. So far as is known Lizzie's prenatal condition and birth were normal. Mrs. Jessup knows little about her early years, as they lived in New York at that time. She heard Lizzie's mother say that when Lizzie was about two or three years old she was abused by a boy about 14. She does not know anything definite about this. Lizzie is tomboyish in her play, prefers boys' games to girls', but on the whole plays very little. She fools around the house with some babyish book or toy. She hates to get up in the morning; will linger in bed as long as possible and then is slow in dressing. She has never stolen anything or lied except to get others out of trouble. She is obstinate and quick-tempered, impudent and often sullen; nervous, but not timid. Frequently, she has bad dreams, especially after a severe headache which she has rather frequently. She walks and talks in her sleep. She is not an affectionate child, at least she is not demonstrative. She apparently has no strong attachment to anyone. She is shy and reserved. When she is interested she will stick to a thing persistently until it is accomplished. Lizzie's teacher stated that she would not pass her grade, and that she is "troublesome, disobedient and uninterested."

The report of a medical examination made January 5, 1921, was as follows:

Weight 100-5. Height 60. About 4 lbs. overweight for height. Tonsils O.K. Teeth in good condition. Heart and lungs negative. Has vaccination scar. Skin clean. Menstruates regularly. Should see oculist.[23] Hearing apparently normal.

[23] This was not done until after another examination on January 28, when the same recommendation was repeated.

The report of the agency psychologist on the same date states:

Stanford Revision of the Binet—child's age 14 years 11 months. Mental age 10 years 9 months. Basal year 8. Upper limit 14 years. Intelligence Quotient 72. Lizzie is in such a repressed, shut-in condition as to make it difficult to test her or to draw very definite conclusions from the tests. . . . . Her successes on the Terman range from 8 to 14, a wide scattering, indicating a poorly balanced make-up. That some of her failures do not show lack of mental ability so much as mental disorder is shown by the fact that she failed at reversing 4 digits from memory, but succeeded on the first trial in reversing 5. That she has some ability to generalize and to comprehend abstract relationships is shown by the fact that she succeeded in interpreting the pictures and in giving similarities between three things. She passed the induction test and reversing the hands of the clock, leading one to think that her mental ability may be superior to that indicated by the other tests. . . . . Lizzie either resents any attempt to discover what is the basis of her repressed condition so that she will not speak of it, or else she is so completely shut in that she cannot respond to such attempts. . . . . Said she didn't know whether she preferred work to school or not. . . . . One is conscious all the time one is talking to her that her thoughts are elsewhere. She seems to be unhappy, though she says she is not. Her whole condition probably reverts to the sex experience she had when 8 or 9 years old and to her own habit of masturbation, but she resists any attempts to get her to talk about her sex experiences. It is possible that an opportunity to work under careful supervision will bring Lizzie out of herself. She has some manual ability as indicated by the performance tests and might make good if relieved of the pressure of ordinary school work. We should like to see her again.

Five days later Lizzie was interviewed by another psychologist. No interest could be aroused in any subject. The report stated that Lizzie had

already formed some very unfortunate ways of meeting life which were making her shut into herself more and more, depending probably upon her day dreams for satisfaction. It will take a pretty strong stimulus to break into her introverted interests. It is probable that she would stand a better chance if she were removed from her present environment to one which would force her to come out of herself.

Weight 103.1. General condition seems to be good.

During the following months Lizzie did no better in school. Her aunt became ill, and her uncle threatened to leave home if Lizzie remained with them. The possibility of various institutional placements were discussed.

On March 16, 1921, the psychologist reported:

We have simply got to experiment before we can know what it is possible to do with Lizzie. A city placement and work, instead of school, might have the desired effect. There is no one definite course of treatment that can be laid down as the desirable thing in this case; it depends on what is practically possible.

A crisis quickly came on March 31, 1921, when the aunt, Mrs. Jessup, discovered Lizzie in an act of sex delinquency. The aunt telephoned the agency that something terrible had happened which might change all the plans for Lizzie. The visitor went to the home immediately and found that Mrs. Jessup had whipped Lizzie, who became violently angry, threw things around, and left the room without a word, refusing to speak to her aunt, who was so upset by the occurrence that she fainted and was for a time quite helpless.

Mrs. Jessup called Lizzie to the room while visitor was there, but the girl made no response. The visitor then went alone to Lizzie's room. She was crying and seemed pretty much upset, her body rigid, and she was quivering from head to foot. There was none of the lack of emotional response previously found. She would talk but little, but the visitor felt that she had at last gotten a little within Lizzie's shell. She had been packing her suitcase, and said her aunt told her that she had to leave. At first she said that she did not want to go, but after some time agreed that she would like to go somewhere and start over.

The psychologist's report states:

Lizzie was brought down to office just as soon as possible in order to get at her before the effect of this incident should have worn off. It was hoped that some emotional response could be obtained, as the agency's worker thought that at the time Lizzie was really upset and it was possible to get below the surface. By the time Lizzie had gotten to this office she was completely shut in again. She showed no sign of any feeling throughout the interview beyond a slight flushing of the face. Examiner held her hand a good part of the time and there was no tension or coldness or shaking, nothing to indicate an emotional disturbance. The girl seemed to be quite without appreciation of the way in which her conduct would be regarded by ordinary people. Throughout the interview Lizzie made not over two or three spontaneous remarks, the length of an ordinary sentence; for the most part what she said was confined to "yes" or "no." Examiner tried to find out whether this affair of the morning was a first occurrence or had been going on for some time, and where Lizzie had learned the practices. She asked Lizzie if she had ever known any other children who did the things she did; she finally said she had. After many questionings, it

was reduced to one girl whom Lizzie had known at a time when her aunt was working and was not at home when Lizzie came home from school. The examiner assumed that Lizzie was given to masturbation and Lizzie did not deny it. Said she could not remember when she began to do it, but said nothing freely about it. The most unfavorable thing about this whole situation is the absence of suitable emotional reaction. The only thing we can do is to try some form of placement until we can determine whether there is anything to be done with Lizzie or whether she is already too much shut-in to be reached.

Lizzie was placed immediately in a temporary foster-home. The report of the temporary boarding-mother, two weeks later, was that she was obedient, helpful, played well with her nieces, ages seventeen and eighteen, and with two girl neighbors, eleven years old. She played only about the home and on the porch. On June 9, the boarding-home mother still had nothing but good to report of Lizzie. She adjusted herself to the household like a member of the family and was thoroughly congenial with the boarding-mother's two nieces. The psychologist's report at this same date said that Lizzie was in the office with two neatly made and carefully painted birdhouses that she had made for the agency's worker. There seemed indication of a real improvement, with the development of an objective interest; and it was agreed that it would be desirable to leave her in the temporary home for the present. On September 19, the record stated:

Lizzie's health has been excellent all summer and she has been happy. She is obedient, except on rare occasions when she silently refuses to obey. . . . . Her interest in bird houses ceased in a peculiar fashion. She had come home radiant from the visit with the psychologist and the prospect of making her a bird house. Mrs. Jessup heard of the work and said to the child, "Well, maybe you can earn your living that way." Lizzie dropped the interest and it has never been renewed.

On Saturday before Labor Day Lizzie decided of her own accord to go back to school. She liked her teacher, was repeating a grade, and brought home perfect papers in arithmetic and spelling over which she greatly rejoiced. The visitor impressed on the foster-mother, according to the report,

the wisdom of not pushing Lizzie to decisions, of not remarking much on her school attendance, to take things as a matter of course, to appreciate the fact that Lizzie is happy and more normal, that actual scholarship should be somewhat discounted and never a matter over which to spend hours.

Lizzie's marks in school dropped, although her general behavior re-

mained satisfactory. The agency's visitor saw the teacher and, according to the record,

> explained that the child had a mental depression of a serious nature, asked for careful dealing and impressed the importance of continued interests for her rather than excellent scholarship and the folly of forcing or making difficult situations. Visitor gave the impression that she was a friend of the family and not an official person. The teacher promised to proceed carefully and not to create any issues.

The foster-mother's report remained practically the same. In April, 1922, however, she told that in January Lizzie had taken a flashlight and fountain pen from the room of two men boarders and, later on, a box of candy from the room of a new young man who had taken their place. She denied this; but when it was discovered in her bureau drawer, confessed and cried a long time, wailing, "Now, I've done it again." She had asked the foster-mother not to tell the agency's worker, so she did not at the time. In all other respects Lizzie's conduct was satisfactory. However, she told her aunt that she would like to return home to her. The worker was not able to get any definite expression from Lizzie in regard to her wishes.

The psychologist interviewed her April 13, 1922, and reported the conviction that Lizzie's sex experiences had been more promiscuous than had been suspected, and that the present home was no longer serviceable to her. There was danger of her becoming psychotic.

On May 11, 1922, the agency's worker took Lizzie to lunch and to the circus.

> In the early part of the afternoon Lizzie was in very good spirits and seemed far less repressed than at any time the visitor had seen her. . . . . However, in the latter part of the afternoon she again became very quiet and seldom spoke unless the visitor spoke directly to her. . . . . This may have been due to the fact that while in the trolley another social worker who knows visitor remarked in a perfectly audible voice that visitor was lucky only to have to take one child to the circus. Lizzie may have overheard this, and it may be an explanation of why she became so quiet and repressed again.

Lizzie was promoted to the 7B grade in July. During the summer she was allowed to visit for a week a friend who lived on a farm. Later, August 8, 1922, she wrote of her visit in the following enthusiastic terms:

> I am back from the farm and I sure had a good time. Mrs. Crane and her family are sure one good happy family. They all made me feel so much at home that I thought I was in heaven. We went in bathing most every day.

They have a fine bathing place. At night we would hitch up the horse and go to Milltown which is a mill town three miles from the farm. It has two moving picture shows. Well, I have so much to tell you that I can't think of it all. Mary has a little brother about six years old. He and I sure did have a good time. He had a pony and cart he would hitch it up and we would ride to a nearby town. Well, that is all I can think of now, so I will close with love.

On August 28, 1922, she was sent to a camp, where she had the best time "she ever had in her life." The camp counselor later reported that "Lizzie was a splendid girl. Had always been obedient, polite and a mighty good sport." All reports were favorable until October 16, 1922, when the foster-mother reported that Lizzie had been going out several nights a week and staying out until ten or eleven, never saying when she was going or with whom she intended to go. During this interview, Lizzie came in from school in very good spirits:

Visitor was amused and pleased to see with what friendliness she greeted her, and how talkative Lizzie was. She has never appeared as natural and unrepressed as at this time. Told visitor all about the camp that she seems to have enjoyed hugely. Showed visitor a sweater she was knitting and at visitor's suggestion played on the piano. Visitor spoke with Lizzie about going out in the evening and Lizzie quite frankly said that she had been going out with a friend of hers down the street who had a young man friend, and Lizzie has been going out with this girl's brother. They had only been out twice, once to the movies and once for a lovely long walk. Lizzie says that she would go crazy if she could not get out and have some fun, and when visitor sympathized with this, but asked that Lizzie only go out on Friday and Saturday nights, she acquiesced. Also said she would be sure to ask foster mother's permission to go, tell where and with whom she was going and when she expected to be back. Lizzie says that she is getting along pretty well at school. Got a (7) last month. Says that of course this is not good, but that it is a passing mark and she will try to do better next month. Visitor asked foster mother to try to encourage Lizzie to bring her young friends home with her and to have a party occasionally for Lizzie there. As visitor was leaving Lizzie put on her roller-skates and skated along to the trolley with visitor, talking and smiling and suggesting the best way for visitor to get back to town.

On December 5, 1922, the school visitor reports an interview with the principal of the school which Lizzie attends:

Miss Ellery is very much interested in Lizzie and said that they had just recently been talking about her at a meeting. The teacher reports that Lizzie is a born leader, only she leads in the wrong direction; that with the snap of her fingers Lizzie could get 6 or 8 of the girls in the class room to do anything she

told them to do. Lizzie does not apply herself and this is the reason for her low marks. When she first returned to school this fall she used to come to school with her hair unbrushed and her face and neck very dirty. A note was sent to her foster mother who seemed to be quite indignant and simply denied that Lizzie was not keeping herself clean. Then Lizzie came late several mornings and when this was reported to foster mother she simply said that she could not get Lizzie out of bed in the morning. The principal says that they do not feel that the foster mother has sufficient control over Lizzie. Visitor told of Lizzie's camp experience this summer, which interested the principal who said that if Lizzie could really be made a leader for good as she had been in the camp, they in the school should certainly see to it that the same held true there. She will talk over the matter with Lizzie's teacher and they will see what they can do to spur Lizzie on and help her as much as possible.

On February 9, 1923, Lizzie telephoned, "Was promoted to the eighth grade, had been put down, but cried so they put me up to see what I can do."

There were several requests from Mrs. Jessup, the aunt, that Lizzie be returned to her. February 19, 1923, there is the following record of Mrs. Jessup's visit to the agency's office:

Mrs. Jessup was exceedingly anxious to have Lizzie return to her, especially in view of the fact that Lizzie herself had come up last week and asked her aunt if she might not come home. This was a very unusual thing for Lizzie to do, and aunt relates that Lizzie has never been so communicative and generally confidential as she has been of late. Mrs. Jessup has heard from her sister, Mrs. Macy, that Lizzie is running around pretty much and that she has told them that she does not get very good food. Mrs. Jessup seems to realize that she must try to encourage Lizzie's confidence, to be more of a pal than an aunt sitting in judgment; thinks it perfectly natural that Lizzie should want to go with boys, and is planning to have nice parties for her at home. There are very nice young people in the neighborhood and Lizzie would naturally associate with them. Aunt has also planned for her to go to the Young Women's Christian Association where she can swim, play basket ball, etc. Will plan for Lizzie to take some kind of a business course, either stenography or some course in billing. Mr. Jessup is also anxious to have Lizzie return, and aunt had told Lizzie the week before that they would be delighted to have her, if the agency thought well of it. Visitor thinks that aunt is genuinely interested in Lizzie and wants to help the girl as much as possible, but there is also just a little dash of hope that Lizzie is going to be of slight benefit to her. However, on this score, aunt did remark that she knew Lizzie hated housework and it would be foolish indeed to try to get her to take any interest in it or to expect much from her in that respect. Visitor stressed the importance of keeping Lizzie from becoming

repressed again. Visitor is to see Lizzie the early part of the week, and Lizzie is to return to aunt latter part of the week.

The next day Lizzie came to the office. She was in friendly spirits, but very uncommunicative. However, she was delighted at the thought of returning to her aunt. She wanted to go immediately, if possible. When visitor asked what she thought had been the trouble when she had been with Mrs. Jessup before, Lizzie remarked, "That's easy; I behaved so badly." Lizzie seemed to be quite confident that everything would go well now. She does not care to continue school, but would like to take some kind of a course. On the subject of her future, Lizzie was very quiet and it was practically impossible to draw out of her what kind of work and what kind of study she would prefer taking up. Lizzie to return to her aunt on Friday, February 23rd.

On March 6, 1923, Mrs. Jessup telephoned the visitor that in talking with one of her friends as to a good business school for Lizzie, she had been advised to try to have her secure a job with Brown and Company, a large mail order house. Here the girls are given a really very good business training and at the same time receive a salary. Lizzie is working there, receiving $12 a week. Is perfectly jubilant; has a desk and is delighted with everything connected with her work. Is anxious to tell visitor all about it, so aunt would like visitor to come up for supper some time soon.

Treatment in this case was based on understanding of needs.

CASE NO. 20[24]

Fannie Strong had been known to the agency between the ages of eight and seventeen. She was committed to them by the Juvenile Court when her foster-mother was brought into court as an inmate of a house of ill-fame. Nothing was known about Fannie's parentage. The foster-mother's brother said that his sister had bought Fannie from another prostitute when she was a baby for $75 and had kept her in the vice district.

For some time after Fannie's commitment to the agency it was necessary to keep her under very close medical supervision. An early health examination showed a positive Wassermann; but with careful medical care, her syphilitic condition became inactive. During the first years the agency had difficulty in finding a suitable home for Fannie; she stole, and her conduct was such that she had to be changed from one home to another. Finally, she was sent to a special school which was for both boys and girls, situated in a small town about 15 miles from Philadelphia, and

[24] Selected by agency.

here she stayed three years. The children in the school, which is now out of existence, spent a great deal of time out of doors, led a simple and wholesome life, and were given much intensive personal instruction.

Fannie's behavior here improved so that after she left, at the age of thirteen, she fitted into her later placements with no difficulty. When she was fifteen, the psychologist who examined her stated that she was of "superior mentality" and should have college and professional training. At seventeen she graduated with honors from high school. During her senior year Fannie and a young man, George Reuter, nineteen years of age and of good family, whom she had met at several parties, fell in love. Their marriage took place immediately after Fannie's graduation from high school, and their first baby was born the following August. The young people, therefore, had a serious responsibility placed upon them soon after marriage, and George's income was small.

In response to a letter asking for developments three years later, the following reply was received from the executive of the society in whose charge she had been:

> The girl is no longer in the legal custody of the ——— Society, though the visitor who was close to her during the difficult period still keeps in regular touch with her. She has moved to a new house, so that her quarters are now adequate. Her husband's income is almost double that which it was when they first married, and he is attending the law school at City College regularly. The pediatrist who sees most of our babies, also sees Fannie's babies (a son was born less than two years after the first child, a daughter) at regular intervals and has remarked again and again upon the intelligent care which she bestows upon them. Her relationship with her husband is very satisfactory and that with the members of her husband's family becomes more and more sound. Far from blaming her or feeling that she has checked her husband's development, they now believe that she has been a real impetus to it. They are very devoted to her children, and often care for them so that she may have a day or an evening of relaxation.

Another letter from the society says:

> Fannie is a splendid mother who reaches out for the newest and best thought on child care in the effort to rear her babies well.

This girl's needs were studied from every angle and for years understanding treatment was carefully and patiently carried out.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF CAUSATIVE FACTORS

The question may be asked, "What is considered delinquency in a girl?" Unquestionably the reply would be that it is behavior in conflict with the sex mores of the time and place. While other forms of irregular behavior, such as running away from home and insubordination to parental authority, may be complained about, these complaints often rest upon the fear that such behavior will lead the girl into sex difficulties.

In the not far distant past the code of sex morals was such that, while boys might and often did deviate more or less from conventional standards without impairing their social status, girls who crossed the imaginary line dividing "good girls" from those who had had sex experience were held to be naturally "wicked." No other explanation of their behavior was offered, and nothing short of the most doleful and humiliating forms of penance could expiate their sins before the Deity, and nothing whatever could restore them to "good" society here below.

Then came a period when social workers, becoming interested in causes, attempted to make classifications and ascribe behavior to *one* immediate and obvious circumstance. One girl became immoral because she had an illegitimate child as the result of "falling in love with a man who promised to marry her," and "because her wages were so low"; another "because she had a stepmother"; and so on. Today everyone realizes that delinquency results from a great *variety* of interrelated factors rather than from one predominant cause. All studies of delinquent girls have pointed to the conclusion that they, like the rest of the community, are products of their hereditary constitutions, modified by their environment. They begin life with certain physical endowments, certain possibilities. Dr. Healy has pointed out that delinquency is the result of the effect of a certain environment upon a certain personality and that the same environment affects different personalities differently.

Anyone interested in work with delinquent girls should be concerned to know what unfavorable environmental influences are robbing them of their inherited possibilities. While it may not be possible to isolate all the causes of a particular girl's delinquency, it should be possible to collect information regarding her heredity and environment. Even the present inadequate records point out enough obviously bad influences which have surrounded these girls to account for much more of bad conduct than many of them have actually shown.

It should be noted in this connection that figures regarding the extent of juvenile delinquency may be misleading. Though the behavior of two girls may be identical, one will be brought to the attention of courts or of a private social agency, while the other will make no such contacts merely because of outside factors. "Delinquency" is a term that has no hard and fast definition because its recognition depends so largely upon such purely fortuitous circumstances as the protection offered by the family, the friends, and the standards of a particular community. That fact must be kept particularly in mind when attempts are made to reach conclusions on the subject of delinquency through the application of purely statistical methods to a collection of cases, and it should be given consideration in connection with all studies of the extent of delinquency and the "makeup" of delinquents. It is interesting then to ask, "What does a case-method analysis reveal regarding the conditions which surround the girls whose records have been summarized in this study?"

The first case cited was that of Helen,[1] whose father drank and never properly supported her mother. Her father died when Helen was five. Her mother, who was devoted to her, died when she was nine. She was brought up by her grandmother, who, according to Helen, was "very hard on her." She had stayed out of school a great deal and worked illegally, but she did not like to go to school as she did not have pretty clothes as the other girls had. She said that her mother had dressed her well but that she never had anything she wanted after her mother's death. She was untrained for

[1] See p. 37.

any work. Her articulate desires were education and someone to love her and to take an interest in her. In the light of this, Helen's behavior was certainly not inexplicable and perhaps not unnatural.

Edith[2] was an unmarried mother. There was some question of her own legitimacy. She had never known her father. Her mother, a cook, had placed her out when she was a baby. Nothing is known of her educational, occupational, or social background or the events leading up to the birth of her own child. If there is such a state, Edith might be classed as "oversexed."

Effie's case[3] illustrates the bad conditions often found in the country. She had lived in a small community with her ignorant father and stepmother and had been allowed to run wild. In trying to explain her own predicament, she said, "I never had a mother who could explain things to me."

Marie's[4] family conditions have been described at length, and illustrate the depth to which some parents can, with apparent impunity, drag their children.

Katherine[5] was not a delinquent but seems to have been referred to a girls' agency because she did not pay her bills and because she appeared unstable in other ways. Katherine's irresponsibility and unhappiness are not surprising when it is realized that she had been left by her mother with her grandparents until their death, and had then been sent to an English workhouse, and that at the age of twelve she had come to a new country to live with her mother, a stranger. Added to this was the fact that Katherine and her mother were both nervous, did not get on well together, that she knew she was illegitimate and felt that no one loved her. Evidently her work in factories and at domestic service held little interest for her; and she did not have a congenial family life, understanding friends, satisfying recreation, or any other compensating community relationship.

Caroline[6] was an illegitimate child. Her mother married a man with fourteen children, and they had nine more. An aged grand-

[2] See p. 41.

[3] See p. 42.

[4] See p. 43.

[5] See p. 54.

[6] See p. 56.

mother took her from this wretched home. After her death, Caroline was placed with a children's society as "incorrigible" at the age of ten. When she was seventeen, she went home to take care of her mother during confinement; but as she refused to stay in a place which had never been home, her mother had her arrested and sent to a reformatory for two years. She had gone to school very little and had no training for any work.

Marjorie[7] had been under the care of social agencies since she was three years old. Her father had deserted. Of good family, he had been a drunkard and a gambler. Her mother was shiftless, drank, was immoral, and had deserted her. When Marjorie was seven, she was adopted by a young couple with whom she lived happily for several years until they had a child of their own on whom they centered their love. It was at this time, when Marjorie began to believe that her adoptive parents no longer loved her, and when she had no other resource for affection, that she began to misbehave.

Alma's[8] father was an illegitimate child. While a sober, industrious man, he was weak and had no confidence in himself. At the age of seven, Alma was taken away from her mother, who was said to have been immoral and a drunkard. She lived in a number of homes, none of which was chosen with care; and she had a checkered work history. Her education and training had not fitted her either for work or for marriage.

Mary's[9] birthday was an annual reminder of the fact that the day she entered the world her father left it à suicide. Interwoven with this, was the bitter knowledge that her mother had deserted her when she was two months old. After her grandmother's death, she was placed in an orphanage, where she lived for ten years and from which she was turned out, at the age of thirteen, for unsatisfactory behavior. Her lack of training came out to her great disadvantage in the foster-home placements which followed. The subsequent history indicated that the disadvantages of her childhood will seriously handicap her for the rest of her life.

Ruth[10] had finished grammar school and business college and

[7] See p. 57. [8] See p. 59. [9] See p. 60. [10] See p. 63.

had been a sales girl in a store, but she was unstable and of nervous heredity. Her mother had died when she was a baby, and her father was an invalid with mental trouble and paralysis. She lived very much alone and never had had any affection shown her. So it is easy to understand her mad attachment to the man who she thought loved her.

Pauline[11] was an unmarried mother at the age of fourteen. Her only sex experience had been with the father of her baby, the nineteen-year-old stepson of her employer, with whom she had been thrown without proper supervision.

Esther[12] was the next to the oldest of ten children. She frequently had been kept at home to help with the housework; and she left school when in the sixth grade, at the age of thirteen, to go to work. Her father quarreled with her because she would not work steadily and bring her money home. Her mother, who was not very intelligent, was worn out physically. She finally escaped from a dirty overcrowded home, from the nagging and threatening, by calling their "bluff" and insisting that they "put her away." Any benefit which she might have received from this correctional care was lost when her discharge was secured by a politician.

The desertion of Agnes[13] by her mother, at the age of four, and her checkered career of foster-home placements and institutional care would seem to account for almost any resulting behavior.

Although Josephine's[14] early history is vague, it was known that she spent her childhood in a southern state. There, methods of care for children away from their own homes were very backward, so that, when she was placed in an orphanage, at the age of five, it is safe to assume that it was "orphanage" care which she received. Her next experience was in the home of a couple who separated and returned her to the orphanage. This was followed by her release from the orphanage to the man with whom she had previously lived and by whom she was now abused. When her foster-father married, he sent her off to some of his former neighbors. The world

[11] See p. 65.

[12] See p. 66.

[13] See p. 67.

[14] See p. 69.

must have seemed to her a strange place. Next she landed in a girls' "protective" home, from which she was transported North to act as a domestic in a family where she soon came to feel she was being exploited. After she left here, she drifted from one place to another until she was arrested at the instigation of a social agency.

The behavior of Grace[15] is certainly not unrelated to her early desertion by her father and mother and her separation from relatives who to some extent might have made up to her for their loss. Added to her feeling of great loneliness was the fact that she was taken away, to save $1.50 a week, from the foster-mother for whom she had developed a real affection, and placed in a free foster-home, where for seven years she received a bare living in return for her services. This was followed by the supreme disillusionment of being reunited with her mother only to find that she could never hope to receive any affection from her. It was not until then that her behavior in any way constituted a problem for society.

Annie[16] came from a dirty and unattractive home. Little is actually known about her father and her mother. They appeared to be shiftless, drinking people. They had no control over Annie, who lived much of the time with a grandmother, past eighty, who gave her no supervision. She soon became "thoroughly irresponsible" and was arrested in a hotel raid at the age of fourteen.

Gladys'[17] mother was a widow who had had a hard struggle. She thought Gladys should be satisfied to work constantly and to have little recreation. Because she did not help her mother, as her older brother and sister did, it was impressed upon her at the age of fourteen that she was "no good." At the time she came to the attention of the agency she felt that no one had any affection for her, and she had lost all faith in her own ability.

Thelma's[18] mother, who had herself been raised in a foster home, was three months pregnant when she married Thelma's father, with whom she lived for only a few weeks. Thelma lived with her mother's foster-parents until their death, when she was seven. She was then placed in a foster-home until her mother remarried. At

[15] See p. 71.

[16] See p. 76.

[17] See p. 81.

[18] See p. 81.

ten years of age, Thelma went to live with her neurotic mother, a stepfather, and a stepsister whom she did not like. It is not surprising that in six months she had become so unmanageable that her mother took her to the Juvenile Court.

Lizzie's[19] father, who had been an invalid ever since she was born, died when she was about six. Her mother, worn out from nursing him during his long illness, went insane and was sent to an asylum, where she died six years later. Lizzie was taken by her aunt, who worked and was out of the home so much that Lizzie had had little supervision and training.

The damage done to Fanny,[20] a highly intelligent child, by living the first eight years of her life in the vice district of a large city was obvious in her behavior when she stole and generally misbehaved in her early foster-homes. Equally clear are the effects of the carefully directed work of surrounding Fanny with the influences which thoughtful, well-to-do families provide for their children.

The summarized records are typical of all those which were read. They confirm the conclusions reached by similar studies, that in the majority of instances when these girls became delinquent it was in the nature of a logical consequence of what had gone before in their lives. They have grown up in neighborhoods where disregard of the law was common. Many of them from their earliest days were familiar with the lowest forms of vice and immorality. Frequently the father or mother, or both, were living immorally. Even when the parents were struggling to preserve a decent atmosphere, the crowded living conditions prevented the growth of any of our conventional feelings of modesty. Often they were without the love and understanding for which they longed, and which, we are assured by psychologists and psychiatrists, children must have for normal personality development. Conditions surrounding them inevitably made them cynical regarding the precepts of church and school, thinking of them as things merely talked about, seldom practiced, and certainly not practicable in the world in which they lived.

Their histories show that most of the girls left school at a very

[19] See p. 82. [20] See p. 90

early age. Seldom had their attendance been even fairly regular. When the mother, or foster-mother, was sick, they were kept out sometimes for weeks to help with the home and the younger children. Irregular attendance meant that they fell behind. Dislike of school grew, and often this was augmented by the fact that they felt their clothes were poor or queer. The teachers often reported that they were "difficult"; and when they approached the age when the law would permit them to go to work, they became increasingly so. At the first opportunity they left school to begin work, sometimes illegally. They were untrained; their work was usually hard, poorly paid; and the hours long. They changed jobs frequently, but seldom did they have the educational background or the special training required in a position which carries with it rewards, either in money, in the respect of fellow-workers or of family, or in creative satisfaction. The work histories of many of the delinquent girls show that during adolescence they have been under a physical strain which must have weakened their vitality and lowered their powers of resistance. A nerve-racking pressure to earn was forced upon most of them while they were yet children.

Facilities for making psychological examinations are still so inadequate that it is impossible to obtain conclusive data on the extent of feeble-mindedness among delinquent girls. Moreover, we have no way of determining the number of the feeble-minded in the general population, or of the more favored classes, as a basis of comparison; but we know that a large number of the girls coming to the social agencies are so poorly equipped or adjusted mentally that under a stress of unfavorable conditions disaster is certain. However, as psychiatrists are pointing out, it is not easy to distinguish between feeble-mindedness due to a defect of inherited lack in the brain, which is incurable, and the stupidity or dullness which results from malnutrition, bad environment, and lack of opportunity throughout infancy and childhood.

The records studied which throw any light at all on the recreation of the girls indicate that they had little wholesome recreation or development of any cultural interests. Their spare time was spent in the public dance halls, in the movies, or on the streets.

In brief, the records of the Philadelphia girls' agencies show a sad procession of young girls who frequently started life with physical disabilities which were neglected, with mental handicaps not understood, and with social disadvantages of the most extreme kind. They have received little education or vocational training and were not only unprotected but have frequently received a large measure of encouragement on the downward path both from their own homes and from their communities.

If children are fragile little flowers, to which in our sentimental moments we are prone to liken them, the rough handling which comes out so clearly in the case records of these girls would seem to account sufficiently for their behavior without any resort to metaphysical theories of sin or dogmatic hypotheses of heredity.

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS OF CASE WORK

What is "social case work"? In order to have what we term "normal" life, there must be emotional outlets, health, work, education, recreation, and spiritual development. The fortunate individual who has a good family, good health, interesting work, is educated, and has established satisfying community relationships will not need the help of a social worker. When one or more of these elements is lacking, a life is apt to become abnormal, the body and mind become warped, and their owner is unadjusted to the society in which he lives. "Case work" is the technical term of which social workers have made use to designate their procedure when they assist an individual to obtain the essential elements of a normal life. We may divide this procedure into three parts for purposes of study: (1) investigation—the steps taken to discover how far the elements of a normal life are missing; (2) diagnosis—the judgment arrived at as a result of this inquiry and the decision as to how the missing elements can best be supplied; (3) treatment—the employment of every means necessary to accomplish this end.

This is not the place to discuss at length the underlying principles and philosophy of social case work, but we may assume that there is agreement among case workers to the effect that girls' case-working agencies are concerned with the family relationships, the health, education, occupation, recreation, and the general surroundings of the girls who are referred to them for care. Does an examination of the records of the girls' agencies indicate that constructive plans have been worked out on the basis of these girls' physical, mental, and emotional needs?

RECORD-KEEPING

While the keeping of records is no substitute for direct services to the girls, it still may be said that the quality of that service depends, to a great extent, on the care with which records are kept.

Where a case extends over several years and different workers participate in the process, it is only by keeping a careful record that a consecutive and intelligent plan of work can be followed or the operation of the underlying factors be properly observed. It has been admitted for a number of years that no claims to doing professional case work can be recognized or established without social case records. Among the girls' agencies the quality of the record-keeping varies widely.

Some agencies keep voluminous typewritten records, giving the workers' opinions in great detail, and even include all the discussions of staff workers with supervisors. But in these same records there may be no picture of the girl herself, or of the processes through which the agency is attempting to secure her social adjustments. Record-keeping has, on the whole, improved in the last few years; but in no instance were records found that were being kept in a way which might promote the most efficient work.

The art of case-recording is undeveloped, and the task of record-keeping is costly in both time and labor. Overworked as they are, case workers frequently explain poor records on the plea of "lack of time"; but in many instances this is not a valid point. On the records read, there were many errors which obviously indicated the lack of clear thinking. The face cards, in most instances, were of little value. Instead of being a place to find an orderly arrangement of static facts and thus effect a real saving of time, they were cluttered with information which is frequently changed and in the majority of cases were so confused with erasures and rewritings that the body of the record itself had to be referred to in order to insure accuracy. In some cases, the forms were poorly adapted to the needs of the record. For instance, on the face cards of an excellent agency was found under "Sex History," a space exactly 2 inches long and $\frac{3}{16}$ of an inch wide, in which to record the reason assigned for the first sex experience. Other absurdities in the effort to achieve logical classification were found. Throughout the records vague statements and scientifically inaccurate terminology abounded. This was particularly true with regard to the use of medical and other technical terms. For instance, there was much confu-

sion in the use of the terms "gonorrhea" and "syphilis," and sometimes instead of either was the statement that the girl was "badly diseased." Also, in giving a medical diagnosis, it was not uncommon to find the worker giving her own opinion rather than confining herself to the physician's statement. When girls were sent to psychologists, supplementary investigation frequently had to be made to furnish a complete summary which segregated, in a clear and accurate fashion, the information regarding the girls' family background, school and recreational history, health, etc. The question naturally arises as to why it is not just as important to have an equally clear picture for the case worker's own use and for the benefit of subsequent workers?

Illustrative of the rather meaningless and unsubstantiated generalizations often found in records, is the statement on Lizzie's record[1] that she "never lied except to get others out of trouble." Yet it might throw considerable light on Lizzie's character if the details of a specific instance of such behavior on her part were known. Over and over again are found entries of teachers complaining that girls are misbehaving in school. Rarely indeed does the entry give a specific instance of what this misbehavior consists. Of what value is such an entry as the following, which was found in the case of Effie?[2] "It was common knowledge among the men that she was a common prostitute." We are given no inkling as to what authority was responsible for this statement. That there are great differences in the reliability of different sources of information does not seem to concern most of our record-writers.

Frequently not only *muddled* thinking, but a complete *absence* of thinking with regard to what is being recorded was indicated by such statements as that of one worker who was attempting to deal with "a quarrelsome family." She had persuaded the priest to visit in an effort to bring peace into the home. After her next visit, she noted: "Their differences seem to be peaceably settled at the present time, as no one speaks to anyone else."

Inasmuch as a discussion of records is somewhat of a digres-

[1] See p. 83.

[2] See p. 42.

sion in this report, only a few examples of the faulty record-keeping found are given here.[3]

SOCIAL INVESTIGATION

In all theoretical discussions of social case work there is general agreement that a thorough understanding of a given situation is the fundamental requirement before treatment is begun. This opinion of social work was expressed by the biologist when Dr. C. Judson Herrick, Professor of Neurology, University of Chicago, speaking at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Chicago Juvenile Court, said,

> We now envisage the practical problems presented by neglected and delinquent children. As in the curative and preventive treatment of every other physical, mental and social disease, if we are to advance beyond the crudest empiricism it is necessary that the seat of the trouble be diagnosed, its nature determined, and the causative factors exposed before effective treatment can be applied.[4]

But while all agree that treatment based on a wrong diagnosis cannot be effective and will probably be detrimental, do the records indicate that case workers in the girls' field have, as a rule, an understanding of the causative factors before they attempt treatment?

Girls are referred to the various case-working agencies from many different sources and for a variety of reasons; yet a statement, setting forth clearly the circumstances which brought the girl to a particular agency for help, was seldom found on the records examined.

Many of the girls or their families have already been known to one or more social agencies. The importance of the use of the social service exchange seems almost universally to be recognized, although the head worker of one of the small children's agencies, not in the federation, said that she would like to use the exchange but her board would not let her; and another children's agency, which constantly receives cases for placement from the courts, cleared only four in 1924. However, while most girls' and children's agencies register at least a large proportion of their cases, the records

[3] The records themselves can, of course, always be referred to if further amplification on this point is desired.

[4] *The Child, the Clinic and the Court* (New York: New Republic, 1925), p. 159

show that they do not always secure the information thus made easily available for their use. All too frequently when the fact that a girl or her family has been known to another agency is noted, there is no indication that any effort is made to get in touch with the other agency. The social service exchange is a valuable tool enabling the various agencies to function more efficiently and economically only when it is used intelligently.

If an understanding of the "causative factors" of a girl's maladjustment is to be obtained, one must know something about her family background. Obvious things, such as drunkenness or immorality on the part of the parents, are usually recorded; but it is seldom that there is found a satisfactory picture of the girl's own childhood; and only occasionally does the record give glimpses of the father, mother, brothers, and sisters as personalities—important to know if the imprints left by their lives on that of the daughter and sister is to be understood. Even the nationality of the father and mother was frequently not mentioned. In very few instances was a satisfactory family history found.

What steps were taken by the agency to obtain light on such things as the girls' health, education, employment, and recreation? There has been great interest and improvement in the last few years with regard to physical examinations. Many of the best agencies have routine physical examinations made of all girls who come to their attention. With few exceptions, all the agencies now arrange for examination if there is any obvious ailment. Psychological examinations are being used more and more by the girls' agencies. Many agencies also now have routine psychological—as they do physical—examinations. We find a wide variation in the practices of the girls' agencies in this respect. Some use, as a matter of routine, all resources for investigating a girl's mental condition. Others seem to regard psychological reports merely as a means of finding a girl's mental age or of establishing the fact that she is or is not "feeble-minded"; while there are still others who never use a psychologist or psychiatrist at all.

One of the most outstanding omissions found in the case history is the lack of information regarding the girl's record in school. If a

girl is in school, her grade is usually given; but seldom is an attempt made to learn what her former school record has been; and in only a few instances do we find statements of any value from teachers concerning attendance, scholarship, behavior, or the girl's personality.

There is an equal paucity of information regarding work history. Some records give the names and addresses of former employers. Such entries as "did housework" or "factory work" is much more common. Former employers are seldom seen, and positions are secured for girls by agencies without any attempt having been made to find out what their previous work records have been. That information might be secured from her past employers, regarding a girl's capabilities and the probabilities of her future success in the proposed work, evidently is not realized by most of the workers. Also there seems to be very little effort made to find out from the girl herself what her experiences have been in previous positions, what she would like to do, and for what she is, or could be, best fitted.

As to how the girls have spent their time when they were not in school, at work, or asleep, the records tell little. Many records state that a girl likes to dance or to go to the movies, and doesn't like to read. Such observations are often injected into the history in such a way that they leave the impression that they may be generalizations on the part of the worker based on her ideas of the likes and dislikes of the younger generation. Almost never is it found that painstaking effort has been made with the girl herself and with those with whom she has been in closest contact to find out just what her actual likes and dislikes are, what recreational activities would be most likely to appeal to her, and how her interest in them can best be developed.

The type of house the girl lives in, the sanitary conditions, the privacy of the sleeping arrangements, whether there is a place to entertain friends, are important pieces of information for one who wishes to help a girl. Also, it is important to know what her budget is, what she has been spending her money for, what food she has been eating, and what clothes she has bought. Most of the records

take no account of these things, except occasionally to state that a house is in a bad neighborhood, dirty and overcrowded, or that a girl is poorly or extravagantly dressed. Some do describe her clothes and draw some conclusions from them with regard to her taste and refinement. Frequently new coats and dresses appear, however, which the worker does not believe are bought from the girl's salary, but rarely is there knowledge as to how they are being paid for; and not even—in those cases where relief is being given—do we find that there are satisfactory budget statements.

With regard to less tangible information, such as the girl's own emotional reactions, her affection for family or friends, her spiritual life, and the influences that might be helpful in reshaping her behavior, months of contact by the social worker often seem to afford no light.

SOCIAL DIAGNOSIS

Clearly such evidence as is usually assembled is inadequate as a basis for diagnosis; yet, since 1917, when *Social Diagnosis* was published, social workers have had before them clear and positive statements as to the necessity of a diagnostic summary.

> The form of diagnostic summary may have to be varied for different types of case work, probably, but generally it will include (1) a definition of the difficulties, (2) a listing of the causal factors, so far as known, that enter into these difficulties, (3) an enumeration of the assets available and the liabilities to be reckoned with in treatment.[5]

In only a few of the records of the girls' agencies was there found any statement of this kind, or any indication of a plan for treatment.

SOCIAL TREATMENT

When the processes of social treatment are analyzed, what is found? What was done to help build up the girls' personal assets, to improve their health, to help them become better educated, or prepared for the jobs by which they would have to earn an "honest living"? What was done to secure satisfying work for which they were prepared? How were they put in the way of interesting recreation, or helped with cultural development, so that wholesome

[5] Mary E. Richmond, *Social Diagnosis* (Russell-Sage Foundation), p. 364.

recreation would interest them? How were they assisted in establishing sound community and religious affiliations? How were they given insight into their own situations, and how were real desires built up in them for the things that the community stamps as legitimate?

On account of lack of space it has not been possible to reproduce records in their entirety, and, as has been said before, they are in the agency's files and can be referred to for specific information. However, even the summarized records given in the preceding section speak for themselves. Little comment is needed, although the summaries do not show, as the records do, how much there was of useless interviewing and how many steps were gone through without objective.

1. HEALTH

In analyzing investigations made, it was found that more and more agencies are arranging for thorough physical examinations, but there is much less energy apparently available for getting the treatment which the examinations indicate to be necessary. It is common to find records similar to that of Katherine's,[6] where the doctor ordered corrective exercises to straighten her shoulders and nothing was done by the case worker about it. In contrast to this, one record told the story of a girl who was in normal school and was working to pay her way through. When the doctor's examination stated that she was underweight and needed "more food and less work," it was arranged to give her a scholarship so that both needs might be met. While such thorough health care is unfortunately seldom given, there are a few physical conditions which are rather systematically attended to. Glasses are secured, dental treatments arranged for, and tonsils removed with commendable industry.

2. EDUCATION

Except in the case of those agencies which have a definite policy of securing scholarships for girls, there is not a great deal done to help with their education. Usually so little is known regarding their school record and ability that it would be difficult to help

[6] See p. 55.

them. Although there is not much evidence of efforts to interest the girls in night school or special classes, there are instances where girls are given business courses. One agency secured courses in filing for a number of girls, although frequently, as in the case of Edith,[7] with little consideration of whether or not they were interested in, or fitted for, the vocation of file clerk.

3. WORK

Positions are found for girls, but seldom are they positions that have any possibility for advancement or furnish any outlet for the girls' creative energies or show any ingenuity in vocational placement. All too often are the girls entered in unskilled factory work, where deadly routine, combined with constant speeding up, tends to break down powers of resistance; or they are placed in domestic service, the occupation from which all studies have shown most of our delinquent girls are recruited. Caroline's[8] case is illustrative of many read. A position at housework was secured for her, although there was no indication either that she would like it or that she was in any degree prepared to do it well. Girls could make quite as satisfactory adjustments for themselves.

When two agencies solemnly co-operated to help Effie[9] leave home and get a position as waitress in Philadelphia because she was interested in a man there, it might be listed statistically by each agency under the number of positions secured for girls. Actually, Effie was no better, possibly she was worse off than if both agencies had let her and her baby alone.

4. RECREATION

To provide wholesome, interesting recreation for girls whose appetites have become jaded or perverted is not an easy task, but records do not show in many cases that persistent, planned and ingenious efforts have been made to meet this need. The visitors of certain agencies take girls to lunch, occasionally to such non-participating entertainment as movies, concerts, the circus, or theater; but there is seldom a program for helping the girl to develop taste or to place her in touch with the type of recreation which might have a really prophylactic value.

[7] See p. 42. [8] See p. 57. [9] See p. 42.

In case conferences regarding delinquent girls, an ever present recommendation is: "Recreation should be provided." To find recreation that will serve as an outlet for the spirit of youth, through which joyous, healthy means of expressing creative energies is possible for girls who have either never known how to play or have known only the highly stimulating amusements of jazz music, automobile rides, bootleg drinks, and petting parties, is difficult indeed. So far as the records show, the workers did little beyond referring a girl to a settlement; or suggesting to the younger girls that they join the girl scouts; or taking the girls to commercialized amusements. It is in the field of individualized recreation that volunteer workers can be of inestimable assistance.

5. PERSONALITY ADJUSTMENTS

It has been said[10] that case work is, first, showing a person the nature of his predicament; second, indicating what must be done to get out of the predicament; and, third, giving him a real desire to get out. What are the case workers doing to give the girls under their care an insight into the difficulties that surround them; what are they doing to give them a real desire to live differently? A frequent recommendation of the psychologist is, "The girl should be made to understand the nature of her maladjustments." Do the case workers actually succeed in this delicate undertaking? What use do they make of their association with the girls who come to them to help in developing self-respect, better standards of living, different attitudes toward life? Even though the methods may be subtle, the records might contain some evidence that such efforts are being undertaken.

The record of Katherine,[11] where the suggestion was made that someone would show her the nature of her maladjustment, does not indicate whether or not the worker actually knew the real nature of the maladjustments. If she did, she certainly failed to show Katherine. It is obvious in almost all cases of maladjusted girls that there has been a lack of normal affection and love. Katherine,

[10] Karl de Scheveinitz, "The Opportunities of Social Case Treatment," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* Vol. LXXVII.

[11] See p. 55.

who came at the age of twelve, to live with her mother who didn't want her; Ruth,[12] who had never had love or companionship until she met Thomas; Helen,[13] whose mother died when she was nine, are all examples. For none of these girls was the worker able to supply the affection needed to help stabilize the girl. Ruth took matters into her own hands, refused to stay at the convalescent home, and returned to Thomas, who finally married her. Helen's case is truly tragic. Her observation that she sometimes wondered if she had really loved her mother because, when she wants something she always thinks, "If my mother were living she would give me this, and that isn't love," shows a fine appreciation of what real love should be. The psychologist seems to have gained real insight into her needs; to her, Helen was an appealingly pathetic figure who needed mothering desperately. It was pointed out by the psychologist that she had ability and should have more education; but what was the treatment administered? There could hardly have been a more unfortunate selection than that of the school to which Helen was taken. Her surroundings there were directly opposite to those that had been recommended for her by the psychologist. She had gone with high hopes, and this experience is followed by a period in which she grew steadily more irresponsible. In spite of the time and money spent on Helen, at no time did the worker seem to have a well-thought-out plan to supply the affection she needed, to find recreation which would turn her thoughts outward, to build up her independence—all concrete needs which the psychologist pointed out.

The worker's own personality is an important factor in bringing about personality adjustments. Frequently records state that the girl needs someone interested in her, whom she can "look up to and admire." Successful workers with girls must meet that test. Advice on dress, for instance, will usually be ignored unless the person who gives it is someone the girl might wish to resemble.

Occasionally a good volunteer, working under supervision, can be successful in supplying the affection and personal relationship so many of these girls need. Annie[14] is an example. A knowledge

[12] See p. 63. [13] See p. 37. [14] See p. 76.

of her surroundings and the wretched experience through which she had gone made it evident that only after a period of rigorous training, could one hope to bring about a change in her behavior. Throughout the period of her commitment the volunteer worker kept in close touch with her. The period of reformatory care, training, and discipline evidently bore fruit; but no social worker who honestly analyzes and appreciates the influence others have had in motivating her own behavior will underestimate the value of this volunteer's influence on Annie's life. After Annie left the reformatory, a good position was found for her; but she was allowed to return to her grandmother with whom she stated she spent her evenings. It is too early to judge of the wisdom of her hasty marriage; but if her spare time had been provided for in an interesting fashion, there would be more assurance that she had not seized upon marriage merely as a means of escape. It is only after a period of years that the full value of the agency's contact with Annie can be estimated.

A very different relationship is that indicated by the statement of a social worker found in one history: "Although I scolded her for poor work in Sunday School I feel she will do no better," or of another who records, "She is always promising to come to the office, but never comes." It does not seem that workers can be of real service to girls in those instances where there is found a long series of broken engagements, and a reluctance on the part of the girl even to see the social worker except when a job or money is wanted; yet the records contain many conclusions similar to that of Helen's[15] worker that she "only came to them when she needed aid and was very indifferent to their wishes at other times."

6. METHODS OF RELIEF-GIVING

The question as to what should be the policy of a girls' agency with regard to giving relief is begged in the actual cases. In the histories studied, it was found that relief in considerable amounts was given frequently when there was no well-thought-out plan. In the case of Helen nearly $250 was spent by the agency on lunches, recreation, car fare, board, incidentals, etc. Loans were made when

[15] See p. 41.

nothing was known by the agency of the girls' ability to repay, and evidently when there was no intention on the agency's part to collect. It has long been axiomatic among relief agencies, however, that if money is given in the form of a loan, it should be collected. New clothes were frequently bought without their being in any way linked up with a well-worked-out budget or any carefully developed future plan. Yet the provision of a regular income and the management of outgo are the very essence of satisfactory and intelligent adjustment to life.

7. PRESERVATION AND MODIFICATION OF FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

In the whole field of social case work and child-helping, the ultimate test of good work is measured by the results on the family group. This conclusion rests on a wealth of experience showing the waste of effort on an individual member when that member usually gravitates back to his family when he can, or suffers tremendous strain in making his adjustments when he cannot. The most expert case workers apply their best thought and ingenuity to the preservation of good family relationships and to the skilful manipulation of those which need modification.

What was found among the girls' cases? If the story of Gladys,[16] which shows imagination and insight and very good personal work, is examined, it is seen that Gladys had been given a feeling of inferiority by her family. Establishment of confidence in herself was such an important thing that it was very wise to allow her to take part in the trade school's graduation exercises. Her complete change in behavior when she secured interesting work, and through that the respect of her family, is a good illustration of the intricate process of building in an individual, assets which her family can appreciate, and then seeing that such appreciation is forthcoming, to hold and reinforce the individual's improvement. This is but another way of expressing the well-worn dictum that the social worker should interpret the individual to his family, and the family to the individual.

The story of Pauline[17] is of a different kind. She was not a delinquent. She was deeply attached to her baby, yet it was removed

[16] See p. 81.

[17] See p. 65.

from her without a moment's hesitation. Did the agency consider that mental troubles might arise later with a girl of Pauline's type who could never forget that she had a child, whom she would never know, somewhere in the world? Was there any valid reason why her child could not have been boarded for her for the period of a few years? As regards the welfare of Pauline's child, far too little was known about the family to which he was given in adoption. Yet with almost no first-hand information this agency acted as an omnipotent being who, with unfaltering hands, carved out the future for one human life and assumed vast responsibility in the other.

And what happened in the case of Marjory?[18] In the first place she was separated from her brother and sister and was moved about from one place to another. Even after she was adopted, the agency made its presence felt. When her adoptive parents grew tired of her, a new home was found; then when the adoptive parents wanted her back, according to the record, "As we had no legal hold on the child we were forced to return her to her adoptive parents, although we did not think it a proper place for her." Why then did they interfere at all? As one reads this history, one is not surprised to find that Marjorie, with an I.Q. of 106, steadily became more irresponsible until she was finally sent to a reformatory. In this case the responsibilities of the adoptive parents seem to have been weakened by the fact that a social agency was interested. All too often records indicate that social workers weaken family ties instead of strengthening and building up those subtle values which are such important factors in developing character in the better integrated family groups.

The history of Alma[19] is a pathetic one. The early record contains little information; but her father was allowed to stop payments for her support, and no one was concerned about what happened to her mother. Yet when Alma became independent she saw her mother. There was a tie there which was never entirely broken. Is there anything to show that the succession of different homes was any better for Alma and her sister than their own poor one might have been? The letter from Alma to her sister, given in her

[18] See p. 57.

[19] See p. 59.

summary, surely indicates there was something in Alma on which to build. There is shown affection for and pride in her sister, interest in her work, love of nature, and a real aesthetic appreciation. Does an agency have any responsibility when this girl, who has been under their care between the ages of seven and twenty-one, becomes thoroughly irresponsible and a "poor wife and mother who cares for nothing but herself and what will give her the most pleasure"? Why shouldn't she have become interested only in her own pleasure? In spite of the promise indicated in her early history, what opportunity was given her to learn the art of love and affection and home-making?

One girl, who had lived in a number of foster-homes, said that she had figured it out that if she were with her own family and did not behave particularly well they would keep her, but when she was just boarded in foster-homes, as soon as she misbehaved in one she was sent away and placed in another. That is a very poor preparation for settled family life.

Agnes,[20] Josephine,[21] and Grace[22] were all cast off by their families when scarcely more than babies, and in none of their placements, institutional or foster-home, did they receive care which in any way compensated for their loss of family life.

One of the more complicated problems of juvenile delinquency relates to the derelictions of parents and what can be done about such situations. One of the curious aspects of this is the fact that there is little hesitation in many quarters to separate permanently parents and children because of poverty or dependency, but seemingly the greatest reluctance to take a delinquent child away from inefficient or even vicious parents. Judges will commit for dependency in a moment and hesitate for months over a delinquency case.

Over and over again in these histories of delinquent girls, are found instances where the father and mother have been drunkards, where the lowest standards have existed in the home, and where there was vice and immorality and exploitation of children. Yet when these girls became of working-age, the parents held over their heads the continual threat of being "put away" if they did not work steadily and bring home their wages; and the parents turned

[20] See p. 67. [21] See p. 69. [22] See p. 71.

to the juvenile courts and to social workers to make their children conform to standards and laws that they, themselves, were ignoring. The length to which this process can go is so well illustrated in the case of Marie that her family history should be looked at in the fulness of detail which its many social records,[23] covering a period of over twenty years, afford. Here is found mental defect and epilepsy, venereal disease, drunkenness, immorality and prostitution, mendicity and larceny, juvenile delinquency, child labor, industrial exploitation, industrial accident, and possible fraud on compensation. There is scarcely a label in the category of social evils that could not be attached to this family. And yet, with all of the useless breaking-up of dependent families that goes on in the community, this one was permitted to go its way and do what it wished in the production and exploitation of children.

And what did the social agencies do for this family? They gave relief. In the face of innumerable complaints social workers allowed the children to remain in this home until one after another they became serious charges on the community. Afterward when the children were put on probation they were paroled to their parents. The father, who was himself one of the greatest liabilities of the family, was allowed to invoke the power of the law every time he wanted to force a child to bend to his will. The amount of money spent in relief, compensation, and service, both in visiting the family, in handling the court cases, and in institutional care, cannot be estimated, but it is obvious that it must amount to thousands rather than hundreds of dollars, and there is nothing in the way of result to show for the outlay; and the last-born girl, Hattie, probably is being started on the same career as her older sisters.

It is, however, easier to see the failures than to know what would have proved a more efficient program. It seems, though, that a vigorous attack, either from the standpoint of reducing mental defect, of controlling venereal disease, of protecting children from exploitation and neglect would have effected more than seems to have been accomplished in some of these cases. Had there been a co-ordinated plan which took all these and the other adverse elements into consideration, and had there been a united and ingeni-

[23] See p. 43.

ously planned program in which each of the different types of social agency had played its part, it seems more than likely that the variety and size of the problems in this family could have been materially reduced.

8. HANDICAPS IN TREATMENT—POLITICAL INTERFERENCE

Since a fair proportion of these cases of wayward and delinquent girls require a resort to courts and public institutions, attention must be called to the fact that the element of political interference is found. Esther's case[24] brings out this point forcibly. The court's own psychiatrist stated, with regard to Esther, "This girl is entirely self-willed, follows her instincts, has no conception of obedience or any discipline. From her make-up it is not at all probable that she will improve outside of strict institutional care. Her best chance would seem to be a period of such discipline as she would get at the girls' reformatory." Although she was sent finally to the State Training School for Girls, any benefit that she might have gained from this was more than neutralized by the belief that her premature release had been secured by politicians. The difficulties of the reformatory institutions are greatly increased by such practices. In the young people themselves a contempt for courts, which is likely to bear fruit throughout their lives, is engendered.

As for the efforts of social workers, whether employed as probation officers or working in agencies which must depend upon the court for aid in carrying out their plans, it must be obvious that efficiency in treatment flies out of the window when politics come in at the door.

9. INSTITUTIONAL INEPTITUDES

The place of institutional care in the scheme of child-helping is a warmly debated subject. But out of the debate two conclusions seem to be emerging. First, that, unless a child needs some highly specialized education or treatment for a physical or mental defect that cannot be secured in its own, or foster home, he has little to gain and much to lose by being in an institution during the pre-adolescent period. Second, that in the adolescent period, for some types of undisciplined children, an experience in a group of

[24] See p. 66.

relatively normal children has certain training possibilities difficult to secure elsewhere. This is, however, difficult and expensive to secure, for it implies a great deal of individual care for the children in the institution.

The admissions of most of our institutions, for children and adolescents, do not, however, conform to these conclusions. The shunning of any serious problems is frankly admitted in the following letter, in reply to an inquiry made by the worker who was seeking a place for Helen to get additional training. She had written to a school which raises money on the plea of providing special care for girls who would otherwise leave school at fourteen or sixteen. The reply indicates the writer's understanding of girls.

> Regarding the young girl of whom you write, we are deeply interested in her case but doubt the advisability of her coming here. You may not know that we have quite large boys as well as girls and, while I do not know the nature of the sex conflict [the letter from the agency's worker to the school had stated: "Helen is having a terrible struggle with a sex conflict," with no explanation of what the sex conflict consisted] probably the presence here of a number of very good looking boys might just inflame any desire she might have. . . . . Perhaps some day we may be able to take a girl for you, but do not ask us to take any mental or moral degenerate or defective. We do not admit such cases.

The case of Mary Waters[25] well illustrates the policies followed by so many institutions of taking very young children, of keeping them for the period of childish docility, and then of turning them out when either the results of their own poor training, or the problems of adolescence appear.

In the case of Fannie,[26] the right sort of school was used at the right time, and when she left school her community adjustments were arranged with care.

The foregoing analysis is, of course, not intended to be a treatise on the subject of social case work. Reference is made only to the outstanding features, which have been elaborated. The case records examined, however, leave little doubt regarding the good effect of intelligent, thorough case work and the detrimental effect of slovenly, casual work.

[25] See p. 60.

[26] See p. 90.

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL RESOURCES NEEDED FOR WORK WITH GIRLS

The important question is: "How can Philadelphia in a practical way throw around young girls the necessary protective safeguards to prevent delinquency, and how can those who have already become delinquent be best helped?"

The true prevention of delinquency challenges every condition in society—family life, school and church, community and neighborhood conditions, industry, courts, and all the works of social welfare. The efficient handling of a single case of delinquency challenges the best that social service can produce.

It is no easy task to secure satisfactory personality adjustments or to succeed in bringing about a change in behavior through the development of wholesome interests and the establishment of new habits of thought. Many people, troubled because of the existence of misery and crime, have put their faith in bricks and mortar. A belief in the miraculous reformative power of institutional care has been so strong that institutions have been created by the hundreds in the state. Their promoters have been impatient of delay. Often they have not stopped to look into the results of the efforts already made to provide similar care. They have had little appreciation of the cost of really effective institutional care, and they have seldom remembered that the inmates needed to be fitted for life outside of institution walls.

A REVIEW OF THE EXPERIENCES OF PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS NO LONGER FUNCTIONING

In spite of the number of institutions with empty beds in Philadelphia, the plea that a new one be started is still frequently heard. As it is important, in developing new programs, to have an understanding of present needs based upon a knowledge of past experience, an effort has been made to learn something of the historical background of attempts to care for delinquent girls in Philadelphia.

For the last hundred and twenty-five years generous Philadelphians have been concerned with that problem but without any special relation to what others had tried to do or might be doing.

In 1800 The Magdalen Society was started, "To help unhappy females." So far as we can learn, this organization was started to meet the existing needs and to be in accordance with the best standards of the time. It was not until 1805, however, that an unhappy female was found who wanted to be reformed. The society did not have money enough to open an institution for her so she was placed in a private home. Lack of funds forced the society to accept as a makeshift the rudiments of a procedure which after a hundred years has become a highly specialized branch of social service destined to replace institutional care for all but a few "unhappy females." However, by 1807 the society had collected $4,000 to buy the building, which they then opened as an "asylum" for girls. The following year a high brick wall was built around the grounds. This asylum was continued for over a hundred years. In 1916, five women were elected to the board of ten members, the institution was closed, and a director was appointed to study the needs of girls in Philadelphia. In February, 1920, the constitution was revised, allowing work with both boys and girls; and the name was changed to the "White-Williams Foundation," the work of which has already been described.

The Rosine Association was organized in 1847, when, according to its report, a company of ladies, meeting together at a private house, received a proposition to form an association

> for the reformation, employment and instruction of females, whose habits and situations had precluded them from the sympathies and respect of the virtuous part of the community. Several ladies gave their views on the necessity of such an institution, and statements were made of some cases that had come under their knowledge of young women who had committed suicide who might probably have been saved had such a society been in operation.[1]

The report says:

> There was considerable discussion in reference to the name to be given the Society, and a sketch was read of the life and labors of Rosa Govano, an Italian girl, who had founded in Italy several institutions where poor unfortunate girls

[1] *Seventieth Annual Report of the Rosine Association* (1917), p. 21.

were taught to labor and to qualify to earn a respectable living by the labor of their own hands. An objection was made to the adoption of any name that might be considered a term of reproach to those who might come under the care of the Society; the name "Rosine Association" was preferred to any other title, as it commemorated an excellent and virtuous woman, whose whole life was devoted to benefitting the poor and unfortunate of her sex. The name Rosine Association was therefore adopted.

Although no mention is made in the report of its origin that the founders were aware of the existence of the Magdalen Home, the wise care shown in selecting a name may have been due to the desire to make a distinction, in name at least, between their home for females who had forfeited the respect of the virtuous and the existing home for Magdalens. The constitution states:

The Rosine Association of Philadelphia has for its object, the maintaining of a temporary home for the care, instruction, reformation and uplift of misled, or erring girls, who are in need of practical help, sympathy, guidance and protection. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

The Rosine Home remained in existence until October 20, 1920. It had a capacity of thirty girls, but there was seldom a period when it was reported over half-full. In 1919, as there were difficulties in raising money and as there were only five girls in the home, it was decided to disband and to turn their funds over to the temporary Shelter, the Florence Crittenton Home, the Salvation Army, and the Fernwood Home for Girls.

The report of the Howard Institution states that it was founded in 1853, "for the care of discharged female prisoners and was gradually enlarged to include women and girls needing shelter, Christian counsel, moral restraint, and domestic discipline."[2] After about fifty years, the value of preventive rather than reformatory work became apparent and the institution was devoted to the care of young girls committed by the courts for minor offenses or for improper guardianship.

The report goes on to say that its work has been readjusted from time to time with references to changing social conditions. In 1918, according to their report, the managers felt, for many reasons, that the time had come for another readjustment. With a ca-

[2] *Sixty-sixth Report of the Howard Institution* (1921), p. 4.

pacity of twenty-five, they had fourteen girls in their institution. For the next two years plans for the future were developed. In 1920 their building was sold and the board of managers decided to take up work with wayward girls in the high schools through an affiliation with the White-Williams Foundation. They also maintained a worker for follow-up with the girls who were formerly in their institution, and since 1927 have contributed financially to the work of the Big Sister Association and the Child Guidance Clinic.

In 1868 there was organized the Midnight Mission. Its object, according to it charter, was to be

> the rescue and salvation of fallen women through the agency of midnight meetings, suitable homes and industrial pursuits, and whatever other instrumentalities Providence may suggest, by which, in the spirit of Christian gentleness and love, they may be brought under the power of the Gospel and to lead a better life.

In 1925 the board of managers came to the conclusion that the expenses involved in satisfactory institutional care did not justify their continuance for the few girls who came to them, and they voted to turn their funds over to the Sheltering Arms.

The Magdalen Home, the Rosine Home, the Howard Institution, and the Midnight Mission were going their separate ways when, in 1892, the Philadelphia Rescue Band was organized, as its report said, "to do a Gospel work among the fallen women of the town." Three business men chose as their motto,

> "not willing that any should perish," and went out in the name of the Lord to seek and to save the lost. . . . . After much prayer and waiting on the Lord a small house was rented and opened in July 1894 under the name of the Door of Hope. With the help of a few Christian friends, it was nicely furnished and placed in charge of two women who felt specially called to "Rescue Work for Women."[3]

The Door of Hope carried on its institutional work for over thirty years, although for at least the last ten years it had not been filled to its capacity.

For many weeks in the fall of 1916 there were but three girls there. In 1919 when a survey of institutions was made, the Door

[3] "Twenty-five Years of Rescue Work," *Rescue Band Quarterly* (Philadelphia), July, 1918, p. 2.

of Hope had twelve beds, of which two were empty. Similar surveys showed that in October, 1922, there were six girls in the house, with a capacity of fourteen; in November, 1924, six girls, with a capacity of nine. In 1926 the Door of Hope closed and merged with the Florence Crittenton Home, an institution caring for unmarried mothers.

The Industrial Home for Jewish Girls, later called the "Grace Aguilar House," was organized about 1903 by the Philadelphia Council of Jewish Women. Its purpose was the direction of girls needing educational and social guidance.

The home had accommodations for about twenty-five girls who were committed by the Juvenile Court on the charge of incorrigibility. Later on, girls past the age of sixteen who were not committed by court were also accepted. In addition to the Philadelphia girls, the Grace Aguilar House admitted girls from other cities, their maintenance being paid for by the Council of Jewish Women in the respective cities from which they came.

Up to 1910 the home did not accept sex-offenders, but after that date girls of a more seriously delinquent type were admitted. The home kept a girl only until the management was reasonably assured that she could be easily adjusted in her own home or in other family homes. The average stay of the girls was fifteen months.

The Home was closed May 25, 1917, as there seemed to be no special need for a home of that type, since more girls were placed on probation; since home-finding for problem girls had become successful; and since these agencies, with Sleighton Farms, could care for all the various types of girls formerly cared for by the Grace Aguilar Home.

In spite of the fact that the boards of these institutions had become convinced that other developments in the fields of girls' work were more valuable than the institutional approach, there is a perennial proposal that a new home for delinquent girls in Philadelphia be started. The suggestion is usually made without thought of the particular type for which such a home is needed, except that it be a home for girls not "bad enough" for Sleighton Farm; and, although there is usually agreement on the point that it be a "differ-

ent kind of home" from any now operating, there is no suggestion as to the specific differences desired or how they can be achieved.

THE FACTUAL BASIS OF A PROGRAM FOR SERVICE TO PROBLEM GIRLS

It was endeavored in the course of this study to collect data which would be valuable for reference when, in the future, suggestions are made that an institution be opened or that any other program for girls be launched. Representatives of all the agencies dealing with girls were asked to state, from their experiences, what conditions had made their work most difficult and what they thought the greatest needs if really effective work was to be done. Social case records were also read in the effort to find from actual histories of girls in how many instances the need was felt for additional facilities, frequently suggested, such as: a boarding-home for girls, a temporary home, a home for pregnant unmarried girls, a home for an unmarried mother where her child will be cared for while she works, private homes, a boarding-school for girls, provision for girls who want industrial or artistic training, additional institutions for the feeble-minded, for provisions for study and care of the psychopathic girl, treatment for venereal disease, or more recreation for girls, public, private, philanthropic or commercial.

NEEDS AS SEEN BY SOCIAL WORKERS IN 1917, AND THE STATUS OF THOSE NEEDS TEN YEARS LATER

In 1916, when the Magdalen Society decided to give up its institutional work, its director, Miss Anna B. Pratt, sought to find out from social workers who were in touch with conditions affecting girls what future developments were most needed. A report was made by Miss Pratt of suggestions received from December 1, 1916, to April 1, 1917. The needs and the situation in 1917 given below are taken from this report. In attempting to get an understanding of present needs, it is illuminating to go over these suggestions made by social workers ten years ago. Did the report indicate that these were important needs in 1917? What was done about them at that time? How do the suggestions appear in the light of present-day knowledge?

SUGGESTIONS FOR MORE INSTITUTIONS

"Home for pregnant unmarried mothers. Home for unmarried mothers with two or more children. Home for unmarried mother whose child is cared for while she works."

Situation in 1917.—When it was pointed out that private homes, carefully selected would fill the foregoing needs better than institutions, all agreed. It was also believed that with a proper distribution of the work the existing institutions could easily meet the needs.

Situation ten years later.—The Sheltering Arms is now working out a constructive program for the care of unmarried mothers. Early in 1927, out of 126 active cases, 51 were girls who had never been in the institution but were under the supervision of the field staff. A list of other maternity homes with capacities will be found in the section on "Social Resources Available for Work with Girls."[4] A number of unmarried mothers are also cared for by the Children's Bureau.

"Week-end vacation and convalescent homes for immoral and difficult girls. Week-end vacation and convalescent homes for moral working girls."

Situation in 1917.—A difference of opinion existed in regard to this need. As there were already a number of such homes, it was generally thought that an enlargement of their work was all that was needed.

Situation ten years later.—There is less tendency today to make sharp distinctions between the needs of the "moral" and the "immoral." Lists of convalescent and vacation homes and of places available for week-ends are found in the Philadelphia Social Service Directory. There seems to be a need for enlargement of these facilities, especially for colored girls. The Council of Social Agencies is studying the convalescent-home situation.

"Rescue and maternity homes for colored girls."

The situation in 1917.—A committee of the Girls' Conference which then existed was studying that need, which was thought to be a very real one. They hoped to persuade some existing home to take over the work.

Situation ten years later.—This need has never been adequately met in Philadelphia and is still a question of pressing interest to those connected with girls' work, although there is now general recognition of the fact that good case work will materially reduce the number for whom institutional care is required.

"Temporary home for women and children."

Situation in 1917.—It was found that the Travelers' Aid was then planning such a home, but the plans did not materialize.

Situation ten years later.—In 1923 the House of Industry, which had for many years maintained a shelter for women, studied its intake and decided that of the 168 women and 117 children cared for during the year, only 24 really belonged in a temporary shelter; and that the personnel and equipment

[4] See p. 143.

needed for maintaining an institution would be too expensive for the size of the work. It was shown that 50 per cent of their clients stayed with them an average of 29 days and that most of them needed permanent custodial care. As a result of this study, and in view of the other facilities, it was decided to close the shelter, as it did not meet the present-day needs. How greatly the question of quarantine increases the difficulties of caring for children in groups is illustrated by the experience of the Western Temporary Home. For example, out of the first 110 days of 1926 the Western Temporary Home was quarantined 93 days. In 1927 it closed its shelter and made arrangements to provide temporary care for mothers and children in foster-homes. In the opinion of a former director of the Travelers' Aid, the number for whom a temporary home should be used could be boarded by that organization for much less than the cost of maintaining a home. Probably the high cost of operating a high-grade institution for the care of transient women and children accounts in some measure for the inferior service now found in many of the present institutions.

"Boarding homes for difficult girls."

The situation in 1917.—It was thought that such a home was a real need, and the hope was expressed that the Girls' Aid, which was then maintaining an institution for court girls, would enlarge its capacity and devote itself almost exclusively to this service when it was no longer needed in the Magistrates' Court. The Girls' Aid, however, developed in other directions.[5]

Situation ten years later.—A list of boarding-homes is given under "Social Resources Available for Work with Girls."[6] The value of boarding-homes for "difficult" girls only would be questioned. There is still need for family homes for maladjusted girls.

"Boarding-homes for working girls."

The situation in 1917.—It was reported that the Consumers' League would take over the Bureau of Boarding Homes and would attempt to meet the foregoing need. This bureau was however taken over by the Young Women's Christian Association.

Situation ten years later.—A list of boarding-homes is included in the section on "Resources Available for Work with Girls."[7] These institutions are not usually filled to capacity. The charge is sometimes made that institutional boarding-homes for girls tend to keep wages down. Many are subsidized by contributions. All are subsidized to the extent that the plants have been furnished by church or private philanthropy and that they are exempt from taxation. This phase of the subject should be examined and taken into consideration in connection with further development of boarding-home provision. It is important, however, that proper housing facilities adapted to individual needs

[5] See p. 11.

[6] See p. 143.

[7] See p. 143.

should be available for all girls living away from home. The Young Women's Christian Association now has a Room Registry Committee[8] which is in close touch with this problem. Girls' agencies should co-operate with this committee, and its work should be extended.

"Institutions for feeble-minded."

Situation in 1917.—Many social workers mentioned this need; but it was the general opinion that, as the Public Charities Association was promoting a program of public institutional care, there was no occasion for the further exercise of private initiative.

Situation ten years later.—Institutions for the feeble-minded are still overcrowded in Pennsylvania. Experiments are now being made with care of the feeble-minded under proper supervision in their homes, but further institutional facilities probably will be needed, at least for some time, to insure proper care in Pennsylvania. The state itself, through the Department of Welfare, is assuming leadership in working out proper measures; and the Public Charities Association still continues its support.

"Work with the oversexed or psychopathic girl."

Situation in 1917.—The Philadelphia Hospital was planning to open psychopathic clinics in different sections of the city, and the chief probation officer of the court stated that "they expected to have a clearing house for all cases in which other societies had failed."

Situation ten years later.—The Philadelphia Hospital at present maintains a neuro-psychiatric clinic for all ages. A list of psychiatric and neurological clinics is given in the section on "Social Resources Available for work with girls."[9]

IMPROVEMENTS IN SOCIAL MACHINERY

"Work in the magistrates' courts."

Situation in 1917.—This work was undertaken by the Girls' Aid Society but was later dropped.

[8] The following definition of a "room registry" was given at a meeting of the subsection on room registries of the Welfare Council of New York City, October 17, 1927: "A Room Registry is an organization which lists organized and private homes and apartments renting rooms that, upon investigation, meet the standards of said organization in regard to respectability, cleanliness and comfort and refers to such houses persons seeking living accommodations. Such a Registry should make every effort to fit the right person in the right place, to raise the standards of houses renting rooms and to be of service generally in its community in this type of work."

Wage Earning Girls in Cincinnati, published by the Helen S. Trounstine Foundation, includes a chapter on "Housing," which covers boarding-homes and room-registry work.

[9] See p. 143.

Situation ten years later.—Various groups of social workers have since then taken a sporadic interest in the work of the magistrates' courts. There is now general agreement among social workers that the whole magistrates'-courts system in Philadelphia needs a complete overhauling and that it should be reorganized or abolished.

"Aid in reforming the House of Correction."

Situation in 1917.—Efforts in that direction were then being carried on by the Public Charities Association, and it was agreed that all agencies should cooperate.

Situation ten years later.—Many of the worst features which then existed in the House of Correction have since then been remedied. However, the new house of correction, which will cost over $1,000,000, is, according to a report of the Pennsylvania Committee on Penal Affairs, being built in a way which does not provide for segregation of those given long-term commitments. Continued interest on the part of private agencies is important in helping to secure and maintain proper conditions.

"Ward for venereal diseases."

Situation in 1917.—The Women's House of Detention (Twelfth and Wood streets) which was then new, had the entire second floor given up to a hospital for that purpose.

Situation ten years later.—Almost all hospitals in Philadelphia state that they admit cases of venereal disease. It is usually difficult, however, to secure the admission of a free-ward case to any but the Philadelphia General Hospital. Venereally diseased girls held by the court can be cared for at the Philadelphia General or in the Women's House of Detention. This would seem to offer sufficient provision for all those girls who need ward care. Clinic facilities are available at almost every hospital for ambulatory cases for those who will report for treatment. We should be careful to distinguish between medical care which should be provided for those who are diseased and the care and detention necessary for those who have, in addition, broken the law. Efforts for the specific prevention of the spread of venereal disease is a public-health problem and is recognized as such in Pennsylvania.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNITY MEASURES SUGGESTED

"More recreation for girls."

Situation in 1917.—It was thought that, while there was this need, it should be met by the existing recreational agencies.

Situation ten years later.—There seems to be not so much need of an increased number of recreational agencies as there is of learning how to interest girls in wholesome, developing leisure-time activities. An examination of existing recreational facilities to ascertain if they are being put to the best possible use would be valuable.

"Enlarging the present trade school for girls."

Situation in 1917.—It was found that a committee was working on that problem.

Situation ten years later.—December 15, 1925, the cornerstone was laid of the new, well-equipped Philadelphia Trade School for Girls.

"Loans to girls who want an artistic or industrial education."

Situation in 1917.—It was suggested that each society dealing with a girl might secure this for her.

Situation ten years later.—There are no special provisions to meet the needs suggested above, but no high-grade case-working agency should fail to provide opportunities for girls under their care who want, and have the ability, to profit by special training or education. The Emergency Aid has a scholarship fund for the Philadelphia Trade School for Girls and gave 38 scholarships in 1926. The White-Williams Foundation gave 90 scholarships in 1926. The Big Sister Association also gave scholarships in a few special cases. There should be an extension of such opportunities.

"Increased wages and shorter hours."

Situation in 1917.—The Women's Trade Union League and the Consumers' League were working for these measures.

Situation ten years later.—The Women's Trade Union League and the Consumers' League are still actively at work in this field. An increasing number of social workers are thinking in terms of the economic factors involved in their case work. Such matters as hours, earnings, and seasonal work are unquestionably of the greatest concern to all those interested in the welfare of girls.

PERSONAL WORK WITH GIRLS

"A friend."

Situation in 1917.—It was thought the "friend" might be provided through the follow-up work planned with the placement bureau of the Philadelphia public schools.

Situation ten years later.—Experience showed that the time of the school counselor could not be spread out in such a way as to meet the demands of friendship in more than a relatively small number of cases. The Big Sister Association, organized in 1922, has been attempting to help the agencies meet this need by supplying volunteer workers.

"An agency to adjust the foreign girl to her new surroundings."

Situation in 1917.—As a number of different agencies touched this work in Philadelphia, it was suggested that affiliation on the part of their organizations should be attempted before another organization was formed.

Situation ten years later.—In 1922, the Young Women's Christian Association started its International Institute branch to interpret the foreign women and girls to the other agencies and to do group work among the new arrivals. The National Catholic Welfare Conference and the Council of Jewish Women also have branches concerned with the protection and guidance of newly ar-

rived immigrants. The list of social settlements, which have always stressed this phase of their work, will be found in section on "Resources Available for Work with Girls."[10] All case-working agencies touch, to some extent, this problem.

"Work with families of girls who are now in institutions."

Situation in 1917.—It was the general opinion that while such work would probably reach younger members of the family, who were in danger of going astray, it would not have great effect upon the girls after they came back from the institutions, as they seldom remained with their families. It seemed better to reach younger girls by a more normal approach, as suggested in the follow-up work in the placement bureau of the public schools, and leave the family problem to the existing family agencies.

Situation ten years later.—There should be parole officers connected with our correctional institutions to meet this need. In the meantime private agencies should be willing to give all possible help. This is a subject deserving careful study and consideration.

CO-ORDINATION OF EXISTING AGENCIES

"Unite with Girls' Aid Society."

Situation in 1917.—This was considered a good suggestion, but it was decided that it could not be done under the existing circumstance. The Church Mission of Help had been organized the previous year; and as it did not seem possible to bring about a consolidation of their work with that of the Girls' Aid, even if the Magdalen Society had been willing to unite, a central girls agency would not have resulted.

Situation ten years later.—The centralization of girls' case work is recommended by the Girls Study Advisory Group.[11] These small separate agencies with their inadequate staffs are unable to do effective work unless they limit their intake, and they then reach such a small proportion of the girls for whom such services should be available that their work becomes almost negligible in the problem of the city as a whole. A staff of trained workers is required if the really necessary services are to be provided, and this service should be extended to reach as many girls as possible. A consolidation of the budgets of the three girls' agencies—Girls Aid, the Church Mission of Help, and the Big Sister Association—all having the same objectives, and members of the Welfare Federation could serve as the nucleus of such an agency. In the event that the Budget Committee of the Welfare Federation should recommend this consolidation, it is quite likely that the Church Mission of Help would wish to continue a service outside of the Welfare Federation. Several religious sects support and carry on work for girls which can be of great assistance in working out a comprehensive program for the welfare of girls.

[10] See p. 139.

[11] See p. 14.

In the advocacy of a central, specialized agency for girls the fact should not be lost sight of that a girl is not an isolated individual, who can be considered apart from her family and the protection and development which comes from a normal family life. It is, therefore, in the family and children's agencies that some of the most important work is now being done and will continue to be done, and a girls' agency which does not operate in close touch with them is either unconscious or neglectful of a determining factor in the successful performance of the task it has assumed. On the other hand, the children's and family workers, in a large community, need the services of someone with special knowledge of and aptitude in dealing with the problems of adolescent girls which are peculiar and difficult of solution. Adolescents do not fit into foster-home placement as younger children do. If they are without proper home supervision, boarding-schools and other forms of guardianship must be carefully selected to meet their individual needs. They cannot be subjected to parental control as younger children are, yet they are not ready for the freedom and responsibility of maturity. At no other period in life does a person need such understanding, such personal care, such tactful handling, such patience, as in adolescence. A consolidated agency, with an adequate staff, high standards of work, and deep knowledge of the problem could make a real contribution to the welfare of girls both through individual work and through the development of community protective measures. The organization of such an agency should be the first step if a comprehensive program for the care and protection of girls is to be undertaken in Philadelphia.

"Clearing house for girls' work in Philadelphia."

Situation in 1917.—It was considered impossible to organize a bureau at that time.

Situation ten years later.—Besides the need of the consolidation of certain agencies, there should be a federation of the remaining girls' agencies in such a way that there would be a centralized organization where information regarding all phases of girls' work would be collected and a well-rounded and systematic program developed. Possibly this could and should be worked out through the Council of Social Agencies.

In the light of subsequent events, it is clear that the board of trustees and the director of the Magdalen Society were moving in the right direction when they declined to adopt any of the foregoing enumerated suggestions—some of which seem so futile now—and worked out a program of socialized vocational and educational guidance which has served as an experiment and demonstration of work with children and adolescents which is rapidly being taken over by the public-school authorities.

NEEDS AS SEEN BY SOCIAL WORKERS IN 1926

In the present study, agencies having daily practical experience with girls' cases were asked to write out their suggestions for improving the social service available in Philadelphia for girls. Personal interviews were had with the representatives of social settlements, hospital social-service departments, and other types of social agencies. The following excerpts from the written replies cover all of the suggestions received.

While no effort has been made to classify logically these suggestions, they are grouped roughly by what seemed to be the major consideration.

RECREATION

Supervised recreation, including dance halls, supervision by trained group leaders.

Recreational facilities. Supervision of Parks. Better lighting of parks and streets in certain sections. A large number of case workers who would do more individual work with girls.

More recreational facilities. I should like to see the age raised when girls can work in factories. The fact that they can enter industrial life far too young seems to me at the root of many of our troubles. I am afraid you will say this is not a constructive answer to the question but the philosophy underlying work with girls seems to me more important than any actual program.

The throwing open of the public schools as social centers where children and their parents might meet in supervised groups for recreation and club work so as to bring about a better understanding and closer sympathy between them. Mothers and Fathers Clubs especially can be made interesting and helpful in bringing about better home conditions through discussions of vital home and child problems. Today young people spend so little time in their homes, and with their families, that it is little wonder that case workers often find it difficult to awaken a love and interest in them for their homes and families. I feel that one of the principal functions of a social center should be to direct and instruct people how to spend their leisure so as to properly apportion it between play and self-improvement. A good bit of this can be done in the home and with the family and should result in much closer family solidarity.

Carefully chosen Big Sisters for individual work with girls.

INSTITUTIONAL CARE

The urgent need for girls in the teen age is a parental school where girls can be placed either permanently or temporarily so that they can receive the

proper kind of training in order that they can readily adjust themselves in the homes in which they are eventually placed.

PERSONAL WORK WITH GIRLS

A counsellor in each school building. A boarding school near Philadelphia with much hand work and physical exercise and the best type and methods of academic work.

We constantly feel the need for more intensive case work for girls. Any plan that is worked out should be on the basis of developing the existing agencies rather than establishing new ones.

Need more workers for the girls between seventeen and twenty who are not delinquent nor pre-delinquent, but who need help and advice in keeping their jobs, in right relationships to employers, in living in harmony at home, or living decently outside of the home. Would like also to urge that every effort be made to have policewomen in Philadelphia in the near future.

One agency well equipped in trained personnel which would do a thorough case-work job with every girl is needed. Girls' case-working agencies in Philadelphia are mostly connected with sectarian institutions and probably would not join in any experimental plan for girls' work. If possible, an agency might function, as does the Child Guidance Clinic, in that it could be a central laboratory, taking up cases referred by the existing agencies, or it might function separately or entirely as an additional girls' work organization in the community. Besides having a group of case workers especially and peculiarly fitted for work with girls, I personally would like to feel that not only could an entire problem be taken over for a wise and sympathetic adjustment, but that somewhere a woman with a genuine love for girls, based on her own experience and with a wisdom which knows how and where to get results, was regularly available to assist the unhappy and disadvantaged girls we all know.

Some organization like the Big Sister Association should interest itself in truant cases, especially before they come into Juvenile Court. Many cases that come into court could be adjusted by home visiting.

To emphasize the function of the Big Sister more, but eliminate all necessary red tape aiming for the friendly contact, to work in conjunction with other agencies if this should be advisable. Proper recreation.

COMBINATIONS OF SUGGESTIONS

Institutions for the pre-delinquent in the nature of a boarding school supplying vocational training. Supervised recreation. Protective Officers or Po-

licewomen necessary. A reorganization of all agencies working with girls. A possible affiliation with a central organization.

Extension of boarding homes. Supervised recreation. A central case working girls' agency.

Girls' Service Club. Colored social workers. Legislation for unmarried mother and child.

CO-ORDINATION OF EXISTING AGENCIES AND A COMPREHENSIVE PLAN

There should be a study, such as is now being made and any supplementary study needed, to determine the exact nature and scope of the girls' problem in Philadelphia and the facilities now at hand to cope with this problem. There should be a good co-ordination of such agencies as now exist, or a proper relegation of the existing organizations as to the spheres of work which they are best fitted to occupy. Conferences would be important to bring this about and to discuss the need and establishment of further facilities. In our opinion, there should be more protective work, perhaps of the effective nature of that now being done by policewomen in other communities. Public recreation for older girls here is without much organization, direction, correlation or supervision. This must be one of the important factors entering into delinquency in older girls and it is a point to be carefully covered.

We do not feel that there is a need for an extension or development of institutional resources for girls over 12 who are not of defective mentality. There is a great need for a re-adjustment of the resources of a number of institutions which care for girls. If all agencies, and particularly the institutional agencies, would do a more careful job in the admission of children the total number of girls in care will be reduced and vacancies and equipment become available for those girls who need special physical care and accurately adjusted vocational training, and who are particularly in need of group training and companionship. We believe that in the great majority of cases social work will accomplish best results if it provides careful individual study of the handicaps, both personal and social, under which each girl in trouble labors, and then works out a solution that fits her specific needs. In the majority of cases, this must be and can best be worked out in the family.

The resources of the community as regards health promotion, adequate financial assistance to families (where by reason of the death of the father, of his desertion, or other incapacity, the family faces a breakdown) socialized recreation—especially group or mass recreation—an acceptance of the primary importance of good social case work on the part of all those agencies which are called upon to understand and treat the individual girl, represent conditions and situations which deserve careful study and probably the resources for providing these, considerable extension.

The most outstanding criticism to be made against the whole child welfare group in Philadelphia is that it has much more money to spent on the care

of children away from their parents than the community needs, and conversely the resources available for the protection and development of a more normal family life in relation to children, and especially girls, are wholly inadequate. There must be a change in the widespread attitude of many people who feel that the one fundamental way to help girls is first to remove them from their own homes. We rather need to emphasize the point that all of those influences which affect the home, work and recreational life of the individual girl must be improved so that she won't have to be removed or feel that she has to go into a strange group to enjoy a minimum of human satisfactions.

Outside of public and private schools, the Juvenile Court represents the greatest single factor for good or ill in the lives of girls in Philadelphia. There is good reason to think that the Court is not expressive of the understanding, the protection and the preventive emphasis which informed people in the community know are needed.

There runs all through the community the great necessity for a much sounder and more just understanding of the conduct difficulties of girls, especially in relation to sex. Mass and repressive disciplinary care for problems of this sort are generally ineffective, if they do not actually aggravate the problem.

We need to get a more accurate picture of what are the specific things which certain training agencies like Sleighton Farm may render. The resources of an agency of this type are generally misused in this community.

The following are immediate points of attack and specific next steps in the building of social machinery in Philadelphia which will make a serious and intelligent effort to prevent delinquency and provide effective care for delinquent girls:

1. A merger of the Church Mission of Help and the Girls' Aid with the Big Sister Association.
2. A program to restrict the use of the Juvenile Court to the consideration of cases of genuine delinquency only, and these only after careful inquiry.
3. Raise the Juvenile Court age to 18, which would bring into this court a good part of the cases now heard in the Magistrates' and Misdemeanants' Courts.
4. Improvement of probation standards.
5. Education of the Board of Education to secure a wise handling of the conduct cases now in the public schools. (Same for parochial schools.)
6. Increase Mothers' Assistance and family relief grants.
7. Improve commercial dance halls and all places of professional recreation.
8. Clean up unsocial industries.

NEEDS AS SEEN IN CASE RECORDS STUDIED

When the case records of the various agencies were examined in order to learn what service was being rendered the girls under

their care, note was made of needed facilities which would have made possible more effective care and treatment. The needs most often noted in the actual histories were: more service from trained social case workers, more qualified volunteers for close, long-time personal work, supervised homes suitable for private home placements, a boarding-school properly staffed to carry on genuine educational experiments with especially difficult girls, scholarships and opportunities for further education and training, and more interesting and accessible recreational and cultural opportunities. These appear as pressing needs over and over again. The records also show that the need for more school counselors and attendance officers, a consistent use of the facilities for the mental examination and treatment of girls and increased facilities for caring for the epileptic and feeble-minded, more parole officers for Sleighton Farm, real probation work in the Municipal Court and better community protection such as would be afforded by a properly equipped policewomen's bureau. In not one case studied was there indication that an increase in ordinary institutional resources would have increased the chances of a successful outcome although there is evidence that, in many instances, the services of existing institutions could be readjusted with profit. The improvement of the service of some of the children's institutions is essential as a measure of prevention of delinquency. An adequate and competent group of case workers could make far greater use of our present facilities and they would undoubtedly be sufficiently resourceful to use many other means of help now overlooked or neglected.

While the specific needs enumerated in the previous paragraphs are based on the testimony of both social workers and social case records, it is also increasingly evident that delinquency can be most effectively prevented by the development of new ideals in society which look primarily to the improvement of the home, the school, the church, and industry. Workers in the girls' field ever should be on the alert to aid in such developments.

After an examination of all outstanding needs and after considering the situation in Philadelphia from every angle the following recommendations are presented:

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR A PROGRAM FOR THE CARE OF GIRLS IN PHILADELPHIA

1. The organization of an adequately financed, well-equipped, non-sectarian girls-case-working agency with representatives on its board of directors of the Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant faiths. The services of this agency should be available for all girls between the ages of twelve and twenty-one. It should be concerned not only with individual work with girls but with the improving of community conditions which adversely affect young girls. A Big Sister branch should be maintained to recruit and supervise volunteer workers.

2. The extension of existing child guidance, psychological and psychiatric clinical facilities. Such child-study clinics should help the girls' agency to function most effectively.

3. Provisions for a small number of carefully selected supervised private homes where unadjusted girls between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one may board.

4. The readjustment of one or consolidation of two or more of the existing institutions which care for girls to provide an experimental school furnishing special physical care and exercise, and vocational, academic, homemaking, and cultural training for girls of boarding-school age.

5. More satisfactory provision, both for case-work facilities and institutional care, for the treatment of unmarried negro mothers.

6. The provision of scholarships for special girls for whom continued schooling seems especially needed and eventually the enlargement of public facilities to provide education and training for all those who would profit by it.

7. An increase in the number of school counselors (at present administered through the White-Williams Foundation) and attendance officers and the development of a vocational adjustment service, so that the best principles of social case work may be applied to the largest numbers at a time when these principles can be most effective.

8. A Policewoman's Bureau, under the supervision of a professionally educated woman, in the Philadelphia Police Department to provide the necessary community protection for girls.

9. Civil service or other employment safeguards in the Philadelphia Municipal Court to insure qualified probation officers and a resultant greater confidence and reliance in the probation department on the part of the judges and of social workers.

10. Adequate appropriations for the Mothers Assistance Fund, the removal of dependency cases from the Juvenile Court and the extension of the state's supervision over agencies and institutions caring for dependent children.

11. The development of the state system for institutional care of such delinquent girls as absolutely require commitment and the extension of the state's facilities for the care and supervision of mental defectives, thus making possible an effective classification of the different types of offenders. Provision for parole care should also be extended.

12. The extension of the state's program for the protection of children in industry and the enforcement of legislation regulating the employment of children.

13. A study of recreational needs and a systematic effort to make available opportunities for wholesome, interesting recreation in every neighborhood in Philadelphia.

14. Frequent studies or examinations to ascertain the extent of delinquency among girls, the conditions affecting their behavior, the methods of treating them and developments or modifications of existing programs.

The Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce has recently prepared a picture of the Philadelphia of the future—a city of wide streets, beautiful parks, and magnificent business blocks where none of the bad housing conditions and the wretched surroundings existing today would be found. But what of the men and women, the boys and girls to inhabit this beautiful city? They are after all an essential part of that picture and to be complete city planning must include those measures which help to keep its children as clean and beautiful in body and spirit as are the material symbols of human progress.

APPENDIX

OTHER EXISTING RESOURCES FOR WORK WITH GIRLS

For the convenience of those who are working with girls and also to afford a bird's-eye view of the different kinds of resources available, lists of recreational and cultural resources, mental hygiene clinics, institutions for mental defectives and epileptics, maternity homes, boarding-homes for girls, and temporary shelters have been compiled and are appended. Almost all hospitals in Philadelphia have social-service departments through which physical examinations can be arranged. Lists of hospitals and schools are not included because of their length. Neither is a list of children's homes given. A comprehensive survey has been made of children's institutions in the Federation of Jewish Charities. Information regarding its conclusions can be secured from the Children's Bureau of the Jewish Federation. Recent studies have also been made of the work of the children's homes in the Philadelphia Welfare Federation by the Children's Section of the Council of Social Agencies, and interested persons may obtain information from these sources.

RECREATIONAL AND CULTURAL RESOURCES

Special recreational and cultural opportunities are offered by

The Young Women's Christian Association of Philadelphia with its various branches
The Young Women's Christian Association of Germantown
The National League of Girls' Clubs
The Young Men and Young Women's Hebrew Association
The Girl Scouts
The Camp Fire Girls
The Graphic Sketch Club

SETTLEMENTS

It is important to recognize that in many of the settlements individual work with girls is being done. They are not listed under case-working agencies, however, since their service is largely unre-

corded in case-record form. The following is a list of the social settlements of the city. A description of their work is published in the Philadelphia Social Service Directory and is not repeated here.

Benezet House
College Settlement
Community Center
Friends' Neighborhood Guild
Hope Day Nursery and Settlement House
House of Industry, Philadelphia Society for the Employment and Instruction of the Poor
L'Assunta House
The Lighthouse
The Lutheran Settlement
Madonna House
Methodist Episcopal Deaconess Home and Settlement
Neighborhood Center
Reed Street Neighborhood House
St. Agnes' House
St. John's House
St. Martha's House
Settlement Music School
Southwark Neighborhood House
Stanfield House
University House
Webster Street House
Western Community House
Workman Place House

PLAYGROUNDS AND RECREATION CENTERS

Bureau of Recreation, Department of Public Welfare (Municipal)
- Forty-four playgrounds
- Thirty-seven swimming pools
- Approximately twenty street showers—number varies different years
- Bathing beaches

Board of Public Education (Municipal)
- One hundred and forty school-yard playgrounds
- Fifty school yards open after school hours

Playgrounds Association of Philadelphia (Civic)
- Purpose—the promotion of playgrounds
- Four playgrounds in operation

Smith Memorial Playgrounds and Playhouses
- Estate of Richard and Sarah Smith, Fidelity Trust Company, Trustees

Four playgrounds and recreation centers
Department of Public Works
Band Concerts
Commissioners of Fairmount Park
Golf courses
Tennis courts
Public dances are held on the boulevard, under supervision

Many churches have community centers and girls' clubs and they offer opportunity for recreation and social life. Fairmount Park and the zoölogical garden, the botanical gardens, libraries, art galleries and museums should also be included in a list of the city's non-commercial recreational and cultural resources of particular value in work for girls.

MENTAL HYGIENE CLINICS

Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic.[1]
For children between ages of three and seventeen presenting personality and behavior difficulties.
Board of Education—Public School Psychological Clinic
Children up to twenty-one.
Children's Aid Society—Child Study Department
Children and adolescents, Psychological Clinic.
Community Health Center—Neuro-psychiatric and Psychological Clinics
All ages, both sexes. Mental hygiene clinic—pre-school children.
Episcopal hospital—Neurological Dispensary
For children and adults.
Frankford Hospital—Neurological Clinic
For children and adults.
Germantown Dispensary and Hospital—Department for Nervous Diseases and Psychiatrics
For children and adults.
Jefferson Hospital—Clinic for Mental and Nervous Diseases
Adults and children.
Jewish Hospital—Neurological Clinic
Children and adults.
Mt. Sinai Hospital—Neuro-psychiatric Clinic
For Children and adults.
Municipal Court—Neuro-psychiatric Clinic
For children and adults.

[1] See p. 18.

Northwestern General Hospital—Neuro-psychiatric Division of the Medical Department
For children and adults.

Philadelphia General Hospital—Neuro-psychiatric Clinic
For adults and children.

Philadelphia Orthopedic Hospital and Infirmary for Nervous Diseases
Neuro-psychiatric Clinic—for children and adults—all neuro-psychiatric conditions.
Neurological Clinic—for children and adults—organic nervous diseases, functional nervous diseases and a few psycho-neurotics.

Pennsylvania Hospital—Neuro-psychiatric Clinic
For children and adults—neuro-psychiatric, habit and child guidance, cases.

Polyclinic Hospital—Neuro-psychiatric clinic
For children and adults.

Presbyterian Hospital—Neurological Clinic
For adults and children.

Samaritan Hospital—Department for Diseases of Mind and Nervous System
For children and adults—nervous and mental diseases.

St. Agnes' Hospital—Neurological Clinic
For children and adults.

St. Christopher's Hospital—Psychiatric Clinic
Children to 14 years of age.

Stetson Hospital—Neurological Clinic
For children and adults.

University of Pennsylvania Hospital—Nerve Dispensary of University of Pennsylvania—for children and adults.

University of Pennsylvania—Psychological—Department of Psychology
Mostly confined to children under 16.

INSTITUTIONS FOR MENTAL DEFECTIVES AND EPILEPTICS

City Farms—Byberry
A city institution of feeble-minded women of child-bearing age.

Laurelton State Village
A state institution for feeble-minded women of child-bearing age.

Pennhurst State School
An institution for mentally defective boys and girls. No restriction as to color or race.

Pennsylvania Training School for Feeble-minded children (Elwyn)
A training school for the education of children of defective mentality.
Delinquent girls not admitted.

Philadelphia Institute for Feeble-minded, Byberry
Feeble-minded children, to fourteen years, are admitted.

Pennsylvania Epileptic Colony, Oakbourne

Epileptic females over six years of age who are not incapacitated for work. Male epileptics over sixteen are also admitted.[2]

MATERNITY HOMES

Sheltering Arms of the Protestant Episcopal Church

A case-working agency with unmarried mothers. Has an institution, Ravenswood, with a capacity of twenty-three girls and twenty-three babies. Provides prenatal and post-natal care for unmarried mothers or deserted wives and their babies.

Florence Crittenton Home

Admits any pregnant white girl or woman of any age except cases of second pregnancies and venereal disease. Must remain a minimum of two months. Capacity sixteen adults, sixteen children.

Hebrew Sheltering Home

Admits any pregnant white woman of any age. No venereal disease cases. Must stay three months after birth of child. Also home for dependent children. Capacity thirty-five.

Temporary Shelter for Women (The Gables)

Provides temporary shelter for expectant unmarried mothers and deserted wives; gives three months or longer post-natal care to mother and child returning from hospital. Capacity twenty-five.

The Salvation Army and St. Vincent's maintain homes where girls can be kept before and after confinement, as well as hospitals. Mercy Hospital will also admit girls for prenatal care.

BOARDING HOMES FOR GIRLS

Katherine Brinley, in a study of boarding-homes made [not published] under the auspices of the Pennsylvania School of Social Health Work, noted:

There are approximately 18 supervised boarding-homes for girls in the city. One half of them are run by religious organizations. There is no effective self government in any one. The prices range from $4.00 to $18.00 a week in those houses which include board, and from $1.50 to $15.00 when meals are paid for separately. There is a pronounced demand for single rooms and only 338 girls are so accommodated out of 1114.

The Room Registry Department of the Y.W.C.A. of Philadelphia maintains a list of investigated furnished rooms and apartments outside of Association residences for the use of persons wishing transient or permanent accommodations.

[2] This information was secured through the Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania.

BOARDING HOME FOR GIRLS

Name	Denominational	Type	Capacity
Business Girls' Cooperative Club	No		24
Charlotte Cushman Club	No	Members of theatrical profession	40
Dominican Guild	Yes	Dominican Sisters of the Roman Catholic Church	87
Girls' Friendly Lodge	Yes	Girls' Friendly Society of Protestant Episcopal Church	35
Lincoln Hotel—Y.W.C.A.	No		120
Queen of Peace	Yes	Alliance of Catholic Women	24
Rebecca Gratz Club	Yes	Federation of Jewish Charities	42
St. John's Alliance House	Yes	Sisters of St. Joseph of the Roman Catholic Church	20
St. Mary's Home for Catholic Girls	Yes	Sisters of Mercy of the Roman Catholic Church	130
St. Regis' House	Yes	Sisters of Mercy of the Roman Catholic Church	60
Tyron Homestead	Yes	Lutheran Woman's League	30
Young Women's Boarding Home Association	Yes	Board of Managers and House Mother are Episcopalians	59
Y.W.C.A.—Central	No		200
Y.W.C.A.—Crozer Hall	No		95
Y.W.C.A.—Germantown	No		47
Y.W.C.A.—Frankford	No		5
Y.W.C.A.—Kensington	No		75
Y.W.C.A.—League Branch, Pennock Annex	No		30
Y.W.C.A.—Colored	No		50

TEMPORARY SHELTERS FOR GIRLS

Girls may be boarded temporarily in the Y.W.C.A., the Clinton Street Home for Girls, the Queen of Peace and the Rebecca Gratz Club, and the Philadelphia Association for the Protection of Colored Women. The Western Temporary Home provides temporary care in their private homes and the Society to Protect Children from Cruelty also provide in their private boarding-homes tempo-

rary shelter for a few girls who are not serious discipline problems, but whose experience has been such that it is not considered desirable to place them with the other girls in the institutions mentioned above. Run-away and delinquent girls can be placed temporarily in the Juvenile House of Detention, if under sixteen, and in the House of Detention of the Misdemeanants' Court if over sixteen. The Door of Blessing provides a temporary home for women discharged from prison or the courts until they can get work.

There are a number of other "homes" in Philadelphia which offer shelter for women and girls of all ages and types. Anyone who had not had the most wretched experience would almost inevitably suffer from a stay in them. The difficulties attendant upon running successfully a temporary home for girls under twenty-one are so great, that the case-working agency should be prepared to place each girl in the particular place best fitted to her needs rather than to seek to find a place into which *any* stranded girl may be dumped.

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[PRINTED IN U.S.A.]

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